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ABSTRACT

Techniques for applying Brazilian adult educator and political organizer Paulo Freire's theory of "conscientizacao" are discussed. Freire's pedagogy is designed to liberate both oppressor and oppressed from the victimization of the oppressive system through "conscientizacao" or consciousness raising. The term refers to the developmental processes in which an individual moves from magical to naive to critical social consciousness. The outcome of the process results in society's working together in the creation of new norms, rules, procedures, and policies. The book is comprised of five chapters. Chapter I provides background for Freire's pedagogy and describes the development of a code particularly applicable to nonformal educational programs devised to aid in establishing objectives, training methodologies, evaluating, and determining the relationship between changes in thought and changes in action. The second chapter provides two case studies. An experience with groups of rural Indians in Ecuador emphasizes how magical consciousness (when a group adapts or conforms fatalistically to a system) expresses itself, and an example from "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" illustrates movement from naive to critical consciousness. Chapter III details development of the code and compares Freire's concept with that of educational psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg's developmental stages. Chapter IV outlines the process used to develop and validate the code, and chapter V notes limitations of the study, and discusses a series of possible applications and a number of ethical considerations. (Author/KC)

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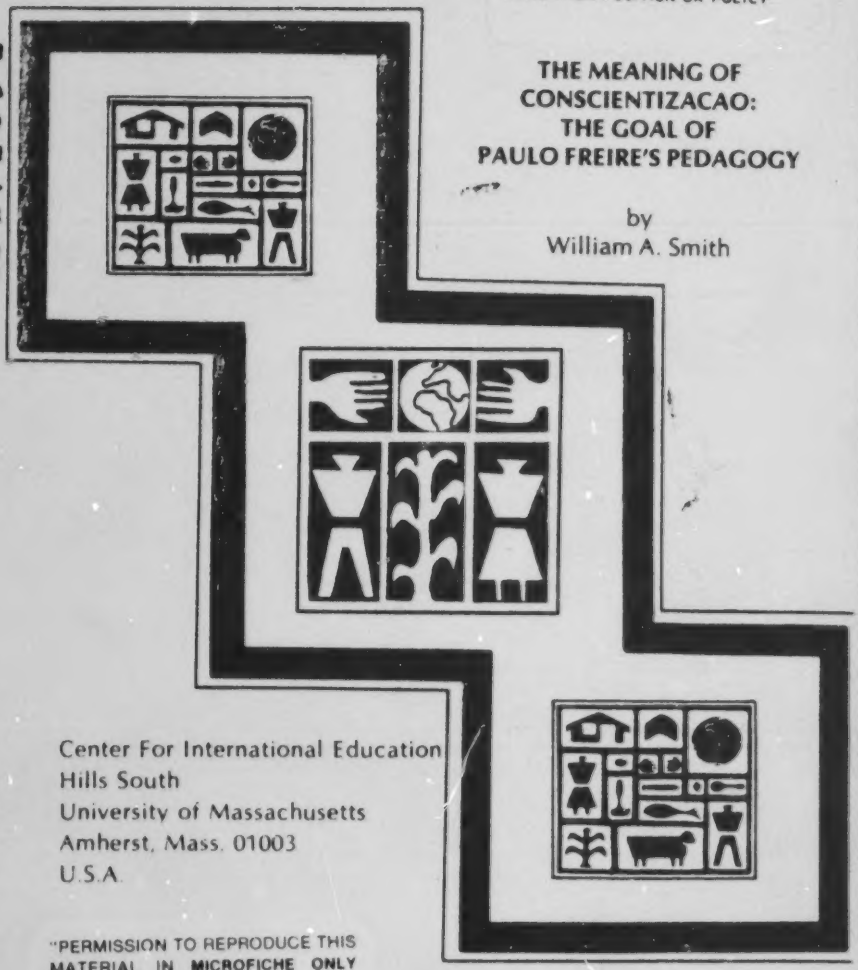
THE MEANING OF CONSCIENTIZACAO: THE GOAL OF PAULO FREIRE'S PEDAGOGY

by
William A. Smith



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FOREWORD

Actions to "raise consciousness" now are world wide. They include such diverse experiences as transcendental mystical experiences and Chinese "re-education." Paradoxically, as a metaphor connoting something desirable, it is dying, in the sense that it is neither a fresh new image bringing one's imagination alive, nor a dead metaphor, used so long that it has a commonly understood fixed meaning. It is an important, but ambiguous, broad and increasingly cliched concept. One of the most profound attempts to define, understand and raise consciousness has been made by Paulo Freire, a Brazilian adult-educator and political organizer. His understanding of conscientizacao* is described in several philosophic treatises and has guided our own efforts to raise consciousness of political oppression in Ecuador and the U.S.

Although Freire is well known, particularly in "third world" countries, his theories are generally misunderstood for two reasons. Freire has developed an amazingly effective, efficient adult literacy program. Many assume that this limited focus and these methods are the sum and substance of "conscientizacao." However, his interests from the outset were to use literacy training as a vehicle for helping the illiterate, "voiceless"

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*The term conscientizacao has come to represent a variety of different aspects in Freire's theories. It will be used in this study to describe the developmental process through which an individual moves from magical, to naive, to critical consciousness. The term has been conserved in its Portuguese form to avoid confusion with similar, but basically different, concepts and in deference to its origins. Conscientizacao will be abbreviated as "C."

poor to "read" their socio-political and economic situation, to understand how the system victimizes and oppresses them, and to take appropriate, collaborative, democratic action to transform the system. Becoming literate is both the process of reading and writing as well as the populist political process of collaboratively naming, understanding and democratically transforming society.

Second, many people misunderstand Freire's contributions because his writings are abstract and dense almost to the point of impenetrability. "Literacy," "increasing consciousness," "becoming more fully human," "liberation," are all used synonymously and are never defined concretely. The stages of consciousness, which mark points on the developmental continuum of literacy, consciousness, humanness, and liberation are essential to understanding these concepts and his pedagogical method, but are described partially in widely scattered places in his writings and are not illustrated with concrete examples.

These two problems frustrated out attempts to understand Freire's ideas, and it was important to grasp his concepts as guides for our own work in rural Ecuador, in U.S. junior high schools, in women's consciousness-raising groups, in white and male consciousness-raising groups, and in understanding our own living situation. We needed to define conscientizacao more broadly than adult literacy, and more concretely than Freire's abstruse philosophizing. We reasoned that if we could create an operational definition of conscientizacao, in other words, a way of measuring it, we would have reached a clear understanding of the term. And, we would have a method of accurately gauging the level of consciousness in situations before and

after efforts to raise consciousness. Our efforts as facilitators, thus, might be more fully informed and effective. This hypothesis, this way of trying to understand Freire, this set of practical goals started a three-year effort.

Most research projects are lonely efforts. Contrary to the norm, this work is part of a coordinated set of intensive efforts to understand and apply Paulo Freire's ideology and methods. Each research study strengthens the efforts of a growing group of educators to overcome oppression. Mary Ellen Harmon completed an initial exigesis of Freire's concepts and provided a comprehensive underpinning through the philosophy of MacMurry. Bill Smith has developed a method of measuring and applying Freire's central concept to daily situations. The philosophic and operational clarity provided by these two studies has allowed others to examine critically, and to conceptually integrate and understand, women's consciousness-raising efforts, the development of planning competence in Black American teacher trainees, the nature of Black American identity development and its relation to counseling practices, and the oppression of junior high school students through school discipline practices.

These intellectual extensions of Freire's theories have provided the basis for a major project we are calling "Social Literacy Training." At present, it includes cadres of teachers in over 30 public schools in four states, three university centers and growing national interest. In general,

these efforts are aimed at increasing the democratic participation of teachers, students and administrators in transforming oppressive aspects of the system of schooling. We have launched a major effort to apply Social Literacy training to the solution of problems caused by the desegregation of the Springfield (Mass.) and Hartford (Ct.) school systems. Doctoral project dissertations are underway that apply Social Literacy Training to raising the consciousness of women who are potential school administrators, to high school teachers, and junior high school teachers. And, we are taking steps to create a national network of social literacy groups supported by the voluntary efforts of teachers who want to collaborate with peers in solving important problems in their schools.

Much of this work would not have been possible without the extensive, substantive contributions of many Ecuadoreans, both campesinos and staff members of the Nonformal Education project. Their experience, insight, and persistent questioning were crucial in the development of the coding system. Their willingness to participate despite some strong misgivings about the potential misuses of the results is a legacy of trust setting a high standard for all who read and consider using these results. The development of a theory and techniques in a third-world setting that subsequently facilitate efforts within the United States is a healthy reversal of our normal pattern of dissemination from the United States to others. Those of us at UMASS who have been fortunate enough to work with the Ecuadoreans have participated in a unique learning experience from which we have emerged more conscious of oppression in its varied forms, and more committed to a collaborative process of liberation.

Alfred Alschuler
Amherst, Massachusetts
January, 1976

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CHAPTER I

WHY MEASURE CONSCIENTIZACAO?

(ITS USES AND ABUSES)

Paulo Freire and Conscientizacao

> . . . dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny, but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed. (Freire, 1968, p. 28)

Freire believes that an unjust order, a system of norms, procedures, rules and laws coerces individuals to believe that poverty and injustice are inevitable facts of human existence; that this unjust order places power in the hands of some and myths in the minds of all.

Power is used by this unjust society to coerce and victimize overtly, while social myths, distorted concepts of human reality, justify and rationalize the coercion. The powerful righteously believe they are obligated to use their power to maintain order and stability. The powerless accept their powerlessness as inevitable and look to other sources, heaven or luck, for hope. Freire believes unjust systems to be necessarily oppressive, for only through oppression can the powerful hope to maintain the injustice.

> Any situation in which "A" objectively exploits "B" or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression. (Freire, 1968, p. 40)

It is oppression and oppressive systems which are the

central concerns of this study. Many individuals have focused upon oppression as a major concern of the twentieth century: men like Franz Fannon, Albert Memmi, Malcolm X, James Baldwin, to name only some. Few, however, have proposed a pedagogy for the oppressed, a pedagogy designed explicitly to liberate both the oppressor and the oppressed from the victimization of the oppressive system. Paulo Freire has offered such a pedagogy.

Freire, through his work in the slums of Brazil, began to conceptualize a process of consciousness-raising leading toward a dynamic concept of liberation and towards what he refers to as "more complete humanness." The product of this process he calls conscientizacao, or a degree of consciousness in which individuals are able to see the social system critically. They are able to understand the resultant contradictions in their own lives, to generalize those contradictions to others around them and to transform society creatively with others. Freire contrasts this critical consciousness of oneself in a system with two prior levels of consciousness. Naive consciousness is the level in which a person over-simplifies and romanticizes reality--trying to reform unjust individuals assuming that the system will then work properly. Magical consciousness is the stage in which individuals adapt or conform fatalistically to the system.

The conscientizacao coding system divides each of the "C" stages into three aspects which correspond to three exis-

tential questions: what are the problems in this situation? (NAMING); why do these problems exist? (REFLECTING); and, what can be done to change this situation? (ACTING). At each stage a series of coding categories are defined in specific behavioral terms that describe how these questions are discussed at that stage.

Consciousness-raising generally, and conscientizacao specifically, is concerned with changes in the relationships which moderate human interchange. Conscientizacao is not a technique for information-transfer, or even for skill training; it is a dialogical process which brings individuals together to solve common existential problems. These problems are related to the socio-political conditions of the individuals involved in the educational process. The task is liberation, and liberation means the creation of new norms, rules, procedures and policies. Liberation means the transformation of a complex system of interrelated realities and not simply the reformation of a few individuals so as to reduce their negative consequences.

The basic pedagogical differences between conscientizacao and other forms of education is that the questions posed by conscientizacao have no known answers. Education is not the organization of known fact in such a way that the ignorant discover it anew. It is not simply allowing physics students to discover gravity again. "C" education is a cooperative search for the answers to unsolved problems faced

by a group of people. For this reason, there is no "expert" who knows the answers and whose job it is to transmit those answers. Individuals come together with equally valid, but different, perspectives sharing problems which have yet to be defined, seeking answers which have yet to be formulated. Participation is not a convenient pedagogical tool, it is the heart of the pedagogical process. Conscientizacao is not a simple goal to reach; it is the ultimate goal of the pedagogy of the oppressed.

Developing the Coding System

In 1972, the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts, the Agency for International Development and the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education initiated a nonformal education demonstration project in Ecuador. One of the goals of that project was to utilize modified forms of Freire's methodology to demonstrate that such a method of literacy was more effective than the literacy system then being used. As the project staff, a mixture of North Americans and Ecuadorians, began to read Freire and began to try out many of the ideas he proposed, it became clear that Freire had hit upon something very fundamental. The problem was how to operationalize that fundamental concept and make it applicable to the design, execution and evaluation of liberating rather than oppressive educational programs.

As a first step in operationalizing "C," a series of experiments were undertaken, inspired by David McClelland's

work on the development of the achievement motive. A draft code, or list of verbal behaviors, was devised based exclusively upon Freire's writings. Then several groups of Ecuadorians were selected to participate in a protocol collection process designed to produce a wide range of "C" related verbal responses. Each of these several groups was given a slightly different "C" related stimulus. Two groups received a series of ambiguous drawings and a written questionnaire. A third group received a simulation game to which their responses were tape recorded. In each of these three groups, responses were collected only once. A fourth group received a series of "C" related stimuli (including simulation games, TAT drawings and questions, open ended interviews and music) over a period of one month and their responses were collected four times at intervals of one week. What resulted was a rich sampling of principally rural Ecuadorian thought, as expressed in verbal behavior related to "C." As a result of these experiments, a formal protocol collection instrument was created. This instrument relies on a set of culture-specific visual stimuli and a standardized set of questions to elicit typical answers to the three existential questions: what is the problem?; what are the causes?; and, what can be done about it?

Once a broad sample of real-life verbal responses had been collected, the next step was to compare these responses with Freire's theoretical framework. The principal task was to look for parallels, to add categories which Freire may have

overlooked, to expand existing categories, and in general to make Freire's theoretical framework more precise in terms of verbal behavior. This comparison process resulted in a final coding format. The code is simply a system of classifying the verbal responses to those existential questions. Each coding category had to be sufficiently precise so that not only project personnel, but any reasonably intelligent and interested individual would also be able to classify or code "C" related responses.

In order to test the validity of this coding system, a list of non-verbal criteria for magical and naive levels were defined. I hypothesized that these criteria were related to how individuals at different stages of "C" actually behave in life. Based upon these behavioral criteria two groups of rural Ecuadorians were selected, one group which was identified as magical and one which was identified as naive. Then the formal protocol collection instrument was used to collect responses from each group after which these protocols were analyzed to see if the code would distinguish appropriately between the two groups. In fact, the code worked admirably, and on this basis, the code's initial empirical validity was established.

Applications of the Coding System

It has been the author's experience that the consciousness raising movement, to which Freire has contributed so much, continues to rely upon vague and largely value-laden principles.

Freire himself has written in a philosophical style which has confused many individuals, particularly individuals more interested in practical answers than in dialectic problem solving. This vagueness has contributed to the creation of several problems to which this dissertation is addressed.

Setting Objectives

Consciousness-raising continues to mean many different things to different individuals. For some, it is ethnic pride, for others, it is political action, and for still others, it is rejecting oppressors. Different brands of consciousness-raising combine these and other elements in ways which are not always clear. This leads to confusion and makes even intelligent interchange and collaboration between different groups difficult.

Selecting Training Methodologies

Without clear objectives it is also difficult to select training procedures which are appropriate to achieve those objectives. If Freire is correct when he says that there are different stages of consciousness, then a clear understanding of those stages, plus a diagnostic understanding of a particular individual's stage would be helpful in selecting training experiences which were appropriate. Unless such a diagnostic procedure takes place, training experiences are just as likely to hinder the growth of consciousness as raise it.

Training Trainers

Again, without clear objectives and appropriate training procedures, the training of trainers is dependent upon intuition and luck. Trainers have a tendency to respond to trainees' feelings. Those experiences which trainees say were valuable tend to continue, while those which the trainees didn't like, tend to die off. This is very short-sighted and subjective selection, but without some clear understanding of what consciousness means, it is a powerful option. In contrast, raising consciousness often initially involves some confusion, uncertainty and anxiety, as a new way of viewing one's experience competes with the comfortable old way. Unless each level of consciousness is defined clearly, trainers are likely to misinterpret or just plain miss the significance of this aspect of growth.

Evaluation

Evaluation depends upon precise objectives and clear understanding of how consciousness operates. Without an objective evaluation of the results of consciousness-raising programs the resources which are being utilized in those programs have no firm justification, and useful feedback to improve the educational programs is not possible. Given that these resources are limited, it would seem reasonable that evaluation should play an important role. The author's experience indicates that evaluation of consciousness-raising programs tends presently to focus on behavioral results which

may or may not be associated with consciousness; i.e., how participants see, feel and understand their social reality.

Durability of Learning

The "good feelings" which result from some consciousness-raising experiences are often a short-term result that fades quickly. They are the immediate impressions of participants who have discovered a new experience. There is no evidence that this feeling is related to any long-term learning benefit. Operationally defining "C" provides a basis for assessing the long range impact.

Relationship of Consciousness-raising to Real-life Behavioral Change

Consciousness-raising processes, as defined by many, are largely internal, psychological processes; changes in how individuals perceive their world, or at least the socio-political aspects of their world. It has yet to be established that such internal changes have significant external manifestations. Do individuals act differently as a result of thinking differently? Until there exists a measure of levels of consciousness, this will remain an important, but unanswerable, question.

The coding system and measure of "C" described in this study attempt to create an instrument which can help solve each of these problems. The code and instrument purport to measure consciousness as it is defined by Paulo Freire. This measure can be used in establishing objectives, in selecting

training methodologies, in training trainers, in evaluation, and in determining whether there exists a relationship between changes in thought and changes in action. It provides a common ground for discussion of what consciousness does, or should mean, and as such should generate interchange between different schools of consciousness-raising. The code is particularly applicable to out-of-school or nonformal educational programs in which the intentions often are broad behavioral changes and transformation of an oppressive society.

The Ethical Implications

Because this coding system attempts to describe how individuals think about the socio-political issues, it carries with it several dangers. It may be a powerful tool for understanding how the growth of consciousness can be accelerated or retarded. As a diagnostic tool it could be used to identify "trouble-makers" (in the eyes of the oppressors), individuals who would then be punished or controlled. As a pedagogical tool it could be used to train the agents of oppression to better domesticate politically threatening individuals and/or groups. In each of these ways it holds the potential for serving the interests of oppression more than those of liberation.

The utilization of the Protocol Collection Instrument presents several ethical issues as well. Should participants be informed of the purposes of the interviews? Should they be tape recorded without their knowledge? Who should be re-

sponsible for interpreting the significance of their answers? The answer to these questions largely determines whether the instrument is used as a purely evaluative, exploitive instrument, or whether it functions as an inherently educational experience as well.

The succeeding chapters of this document will help the reader clarify some of these issues. Chapter II presents a series of case studies which indicate some ways magical consciousness is manifested in rural Ecuadorians, and draws upon the Autobiography of Malcolm X to demonstrate how consciousness growth takes place between naive and critical stages. Chapter III is a detailed description of the stages, aspects and categories which make up the "C" code. Chapter III also includes a discussion of how Freire's concept may conform to the criteria established by Lawrence Kohlberg for a structural developmental theory. Chapter IV outlines the process used to develop and validate the code, as well as limitations of this process. Chapter IV also discusses a series of possible applications for the coding system and a number of ethical considerations. The authors hope that this document will assist the process of liberation.

CHAPTER II

TWO CASE STUDIES IN CONSCIENTIZACAO

Before outlining the theoretical basis for conscientizacao, it is important that the reader have an experiential context within which to understand that theory. Freire himself gives few lengthy examples of conscientizacao development. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with two examples of how conscientizacao manifests itself in real life. The first example is taken from the author's experience with groups of rural indians in Ecuador, and emphasizes how magical consciousness expresses itself in the responses of these people. The second example is taken from the Autobiography of Malcolm X and shows how consciousness develops in a given individual, passing from naive to critical consciousness in a single lifetime.

Magical Consciousness in Rural Ecuadorian Indians

This part of Chapter II is divided into four sections. The first gives the reader the historical background of the area in which the coding took place. It is based upon interviews with individuals who have lived in the area for many years but is written by the author. The second section is a series of quotes taken from an Ecuadorian indian who is now in his 70s and who, during several of the taping sessions,

reminisced on what his life has been like. The third section presents two incidents taken from real-life which illustrate how the social system operates on the individual in this area of Ecuador today. Finally, in the last section, specific individuals' responses to this reality are presented through a series of quotes taken from several taping sessions. It is important to note here that these quotes are not presented as representative of the "typical" inhabitant of the area. The author was not concerned with studying the social-psychology of the region, but rather with uncovering responses which could be legitimately described as "magical" in Freire's terms. These responses have been selected because they represent basically "magical" responses to the problems outlined in this section, and not because they are representative of local mentality.

The Backdrop*

The land was magnificent. The large valleys resting at 8000-9000 feet were living carpets, tended by the hacienda's (plantation's) indians. These indians were obligated to work the hacienda land and were also given a small plot, called a huasipungo, to farm for themselves. They lived a subsistence existence; their labor provided the hacienda owner with both leisure time and the resources to enjoy a cultured life. Often

*Based upon author's experience and excerpts from Galaza, 1973.

the owner lived in the area's largest city, while at the same time maintaining a large house on the hacienda. The actual work of tending the land and managing the indians was given to an overseer. It was the overseer's responsibility to turn a profit and to avoid problems.

The indians lived close to each other. Their houses, or chozas, were small mud structures; the same construction used during the time of the Incas and Shires. The roofs were made of a grass which grew abundantly on the slopes of the high paramo. There were no windows and the tight thatch kept the smoke from the small fire inside, to warm the family on the cold nights. The families were often large, even though there were few women who had not lost several children to the hands of death.

There were relatively few decisions to be made in their lives. The overseer would organize everything. He would tell them when to plant, when to harvest. He would tell them how many hours to work, and how many hours to rest. There was no school; they never left the hacienda unless they were told to do so. Their education was limited to learning the skills which served the hacienda and to learning the story of Jesus and his suffering.

There were house-indians (huasicamas) and farm-indians (huasipungeros). Each had his own role and his own status. Most indians agreed that it was better to be a huasicama, because even though they saw the overseer more frequently, they

also saw the patron more frequently. It was agreed that the patron was good, it was the overseer who was cruel and did the evil things which made the indians' life so hard.

The hacienda house was grand. Often it had two floors and a great inner patio where the patron had a pond just for ducks. There was always a chapel where only the family of the patron would worhip. The chapel had a beautiful altar and many saints covered in gold who smiled peacefully at the patron. There was a great fireplace which burned much wood and required two indians just to keep enough firewood for its needs. There were stables for the cattle and horses and even a bull ring where the patron would bring friends to drink and laugh and talk. The patron's children were very important. They were treated with much respect no matter what they did. The indian children would fight each other to see who would have the honor of being the horse for the patron's son. Time was often spent in educational pursuits: the patron showing his son how an indian should be whipped so as to pass on the heritage of paternal concern and paternal control.

Religion and alcohol were the indians' escape. In a cup of chicha (a fermented corn drink) indians found the courage to strike a friend or to beat one's wife. In the serene face of the Virgin they found a hope for future peace in a heavenly paradise. In the tortured face of a crucified Christ they found suffering which almost equaled their own: Christ was a macho symbol . . . "If He could do it, so can I." And

in the religious fiestas they found gaiety and, again, alcoholic delirium. The fiestas functioned as a sacrifice to community, a subtle way of keeping all indians equally poor, for it was the community's most prosperous indian who was chosen as prioste, given the honor of investing his wealth in food, drink, costumes and Masses for the benefit of the entire community. Material gains were transformed into social good, and poverty remained a democratic commodity.

What Life Was Like*

"I am old; 73 years and 2 months. We must remember how we lived in the old times. We lived like animals on the plains. We were thrown away, the whites collected us like animals and they sent us to Mass. They sent us to clean their schools where their children studied. They beat us, kicked us, threw us away, and then sent us to Mass where papa priest blessed us. He also hated us. That is the way it was; listening to Mass and asking God to bring us together and to help us. We haven't understood anything. It is like when papa priest threw us the blessing, we learned to make the sign of the cross, that is all. When we felt our poverty, we invited each other to drink, because when we drank we felt macho; we fought with our friends, with our wives and beat our children.

"My father sent me to school. I was the very first indian to go to school in my community. But the white people

*Taken from a tape recording of an Ecuadorian Indian.

didn't understand, and they called me names, ill-bred, insolent and others. They beat me and they didn't like it that I went to school. I went every day afraid. It hurt me to leave the house; it was like a dog was going to bite me any minute. I would say 'Good morning' to a white person, and they would call me 'bastard,' and whip me with a large piece of leather. Later when my father told the teacher, they did not call me names around him, but when I was alone they would say, 'Indian, piece of shit.'

"I remember how the fiestas were when I was a young man. The governors,* the founders ordered the priests not to be stupid but to give big fiestas. 'You have to get all the adults together, and have to drink lots of chicha,' they would say. They ordered us to drink chicha. We had to think about the fiestas for the next year and save money for them. I remember when I was married, I was embarrassed and I went to my wife. 'Little woman, what do we do now? We are only just married and I have nothing.' And we began by giving a fiesta because the founder came and told me that I was the son of one of the governors and that I had to give a fiesta. In order not to be spoken against, we borrowed money, we begged friends to loan us money, we sold everything we had and we gave the fiesta. And we were in debt for many years."

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*Powerful individuals who held control over the statue of a community saint.

What Life Is Like Now*

The valley is now enclosed by hundreds of multicolored patchwork plots. This visual magnificence is perhaps the best representation of the oppressive results of land reform which gives the rich valleys to a small percentage of the ruling population and leaves the vast majority of rural poor clinging to mountainsides on less than one acre plots, fighting the constant erosion of slopes with as much as a 40° inclination, and continually dividing their already small plots between sons and daughters whose only hope is the few meters of land on which they may build a house and establish their own identity. Land reform has transformed much of the region from an area of privileged haciendas (plantations) to one of eroded minifundia. A local indian told us "yes, of course they want to give us the land now that they have raped and drained it of all its value."

A few large haciendas remain. They are owned largely by the church and are rented to private individuals who run them as businesses. In some cases, the hacienda houses have been abandoned, the road is lined with broken bits of windows and crumbling walls. The chapels, where the patron (owner) gave thanks for his blessings, have been stripped of saints, and the duck pond drained of its lushness. The whipping post, used to discipline the hacienda's indians, often remains a reminder in stone that paternalism was often a harsh regime,

*Based on the author's experience.

where human chattel were educated to serve the patron and his needs.

The indians are now free; some say, "free to starve." The haciendas still offer work, now for wages. The old patrons are gone, replaced by businessmen who pay indians as little as possible. Often they are told they will be paid at the end of the harvest, but when the harvest comes, the patron says there was no profit and he has nothing to pay them with, but if they come back and work next year, he will pay them for both years' work. Even though there is a minimum wage for farm labor in the country, many patrons pay less, often as little as 7 Sucres a day (or about 28¢). If the workers are given lunch as well, that 7 Sucres is reduced to 5. They are not forced as before to work the hacienda, but their own land is too small to provide for their family.

Unwilling to sell their small piece of land, the men migrate to the cities for months at a time to work as cargadores, human transport upon whom the shop keepers and market buyers depend to carry their loads and transport the city's commerce. For this service, they receive a handful of Sucres, making perhaps as much as 50 or 100 Sucres a day. This is much more than they could make off their small plot and even though they are far from home they spend little. On 10 Sucres a day they can eat. They sleep in the streets, huddled together in the archways of public buildings and the alleyways of the central city. For diversion they play cards, and some-

times drink, but alcohol is expensive in the city and they have come to make money, not to drink.

The work is hard and they are often treated roughly. If they should drop some precious cargo, or if they interfere with the cars and trucks which fill the crowded streets, they are spoken to harshly, called ignorant and stupid, and worse. They are sometimes robbed of all their savings by some fast talking city person or by some swift youth who outruns them. The city is dangerous and foreign, but it is the only place to make money, the only way they can hope to keep their land and maybe someday buy a radio.

When they return home to their wives and family, they hear the stories of brutality and suffering which their families have endured in their absence.

A campesino wife:* "We had to go to town. The bus was the only way to go but they treat us badly on the bus. We are afraid to go on the bus; they hit us and throw us together like sheep, one on top of the other; they make us stand up, we travel like pigs. I got mad at one of the bus drivers who wanted to overcharge me and I told him it was not fair. He grabbed me by the chest and shook me. My baby was crying on my back and he wanted to throw me off the bus while it was moving. He threw me in back of the bus where there were pigs and I fell on the floor. We were pushed together and when the

*Taken from tape recordings of an Ecuadorian indian.

driver's helper came around for the money, I could not even get it out, I was so packed in. I screamed that my baby was dying and he answered, 'Why do you bring your babies, you should come alone.' Later when we came to the control station, the bus driver made us get on the floor and covered us up with a cloth so that the control officer would not see that he had too many passengers. I almost died under there. When I got up I told him that if anything happened to us he would have to answer to the authorities and he said, 'We would just throw your body off the bus; who would defend you, or care about what happens to you?' and he laughed. He called me names, awful names, 'cunt,' and 'horny indian.' We are afraid."

The Responses

What kind of responses to these problems can be classified as magical in Freire's terms? The following examples are taken from the taping sessions previously described. The individuals who respond come from the region described here and live daily with these problems. Once again, these responses are not presented as representative of the region's mentality, but rather as representative of responses which Freire calls magical consciousness. Each section presents a question and the responses given by individuals.

What kinds of problems do these individuals have?

"They are sick."

"They are poor."

"He has fallen down and is injured."

"He has been in a traffic accident and is hurt."

"They are hungry."

"He has no money to feed his family."

"The problem is that there is no work anymore."

Freire says:

> Men of semi-intransitive [magical]* consciousness can not apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity. Their interests center almost totally around survival, and they lack a sense of life on a more historic plane. (Freire, 1973, p. 17)

While it is certainly true that the responses to this question are accurate (that is, the people are poor, many of them are sick, hunger is a problem, and there is not enough work) the important fact is that the respondents were not able to see any other problems. Problems were only discussed in these terms. There was no mention of brutality, of being cheated, of being taken advantage of, or of being mistreated, nor was there mention of procedures, policies, rules and regulations which were unfair or unjust. As Freire says, problems are defined in biological, survival terms, or in some cases, there was overt denial that any problems existed at all. Semi-intransitive consciousness is referred to as "magical" because facts appear to the magical individual as a magic trick appears to an audience, beyond logical explanation. There is no broader context into which the event can be placed; it is accepted as

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*Author's insert.

reality beyond reason. One of the common responses was "We don't have any problems, everything is fine." Obviously these responses are dramatic contrasts to the woman who described her experience on the bus, or the old man who remembered his youth.

Why are things this way? Who is to blame?

"This is the will of God."

"God is punishing him because he has been evil."

> Under the sway of magic and myth, the oppressed (especially the peasants, who are almost submerged in nature) see their suffering, the fruit of exploitation, as the will of God--as if God were the creator of this 'organized disorder.' (Freire, 1968, p. 48)

"The patron is good. The priest must charge us for their Masses, they too must eat and we should be grateful to them for taking care of us."

> They have diffuse, magical belief in the invulnerability and power of the oppressor. The magical force of the landowner's power holds particular sway in the rural areas. (Freire, 1968, p. 50)

"He is sick because he does not eat right."

"He is hungry because he has not eaten."

"He is poor because he has no money."

> Men (of semi-intransitive consciousness) confuse their perceptions of the objects and challengers of the environment and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality. The power to perceive authentic causality is obliterated in the semi-intransitive state; hence the latter's magical quality. (Freire, 1973, p. 17)

These respondents were unable to blame individuals for being evil. The patron was justified in his actions. God or

other uncontrollable factors were to blame, but even the word blame is inappropriate because it implies guilt, some wrongdoing. The point is, at the magical level of thinking there is no guilt; facts are not good and evil, they simply exist. This magical quality leads to establishing causal relationships which are simplistic, which blame objects and not individuals, which do not lead to deep solutions, but rather justify acceptance and resignation.

What can be done to change these things? What should be, or will be done to change them?

". . . [silence] . . ."

"Nothing . . ."

"Change things? ? ? . . . I don't know."

> Accordingly, until they concretely 'discover' their oppressor and in turn their own consciousness, they nearly always express fatalistic attitudes towards their situation. . . . When superficially analyzed, this fatalism is sometimes interpreted as a docility that is a trait of national character. Fatalism in the guise of docility is the fruit of an historical and sociological situation, not an essential characteristic of a people's behavior. (Freire, 1968, pp. 47-48)

"The patron will solve that problem. It is right to take our dispute to him. He is wise and will know how to settle our problem justly."

> For the oppressed, at a certain point in their existential experience, to be is not to resemble the oppressor, but to be under him, to depend on him. Accordingly, the oppressed are emotionally dependent. (Freire, 1968, p. 51)

Action designed to change the facts of existence are inconceivable. One of the common responses to the question,

what can be done? was silence. The question was not understood; it made no sense to ask what can be done about uncontrollable factors; after all they are uncontrollable. Acceptance, silence, resignation are the most reasonable alternatives. Dependence on the oppressor was also a common response. Problems were almost always taken to authorities who had power, who were magical in the sense they were immune to the uncontrollable factors which governed the lives of the respondents. Acceptance, waiting and dependence are the action words of magical consciousness.

The Transition from Naive to Critical Consciousness

This Case Study is divided into four parts, each part named after a chapter of Malcolm X's autobiography. The attempt here is not to give the reader a full account of Malcolm X's life, which he himself has already done, but rather to extract several key passages which indicate thought patterns at different stages of his life. Malcolm X's unique experience as an American black, his transformation from teacher's pet to pimp, to racist, to liberationist is an extraordinary example of what Freire describes as the growth from naive to critical consciousness.

Mascot

> [My father] was not a frightened Negro as most then were, and many still are today. p. 1*

*All unidentified quotes in this chapter are taken from Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, New York: Ballentine Books, 1964.

> He [my father] believed, as did Marcus Garvey, that freedom, independence and self-respect could never be achieved by the Negro in America, and that therefore the Negro should leave America to the white man and return to his African land of origin. p. 2

> . . . my father wanted to find a place where he could raise our own food and perhaps build a business. The teachings of Marcus Garvey stressed becoming independent of the white man. p. 3

Malcolm X's father was a militant preacher, espousing the ideas of Marcus Garvey, one of the most radical black men of his time. Malcolm X was not born into a family which denied the existence of a racial problem or which focused exclusively on survival problems related to poverty. Even though the family was poor, the fact that Malcolm's father was a militant preacher gave him a unique position in both the black and white communities. His death at the hands of white men is but one indication that he was an outspoken opponent of white oppression. His solutions can be seen as naive in Freire's terms in that they were defensive. The answer was not to change the white society, but rather to leave it, to return to the romantic past, the African homeland, where once again the black man could flourish and be free.

> . . . my memories are of the friction between my father and mother. They seemed to be nearly always at odds. Sometimes my father would beat her. . . . My father was also belligerent toward all of the children except me. The older ones he would beat almost savagely if they broke any of the rules . . . [my father] was subconsciously so afflicted with the white man's brainwashing of Negroes that he inclined to favor the light ones, and I was his lightest child. p. 4

The intra-punitiveness Malcolm X describes here is typical of naive consciousness. Malcolm X's father, unable to

strike out against the oppressor, strikes out against his own family and friends and for brief periods has identified with the oppressor's power and violence. Malcolm's physical difference, being the "lightest" of all, was one factor which distinguished him from his fellow blacks and made him the white man's pet.

> Then in the second semester of the seventh grade I was elected class president. It surprised me even more than other people. But I can see now why the class might have done it. My grades were among the highest in the school. . . . I was proud; I'm not going to say I wasn't. In fact, by then, I didn't really have much feeling about being a Negro, because I was trying so hard, in every way I could, to be white. p. 31

Malcolm went to an integrated school, a school where he was confronted daily with the oppressor's values. As he says here, he was trying to become white, to imitate the oppressor, and in essence to deny his own blackness. The attempt to become like the oppressor is typical of naive stage consciousness in which oppressed individuals blame themselves for their problems and overtly model the oppressor's habits, dress and life style. Malcolm X's teacher says:

> 'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me, now. We all here like you, you know that. But you've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer--that's no realistic goal for a nigger. You need to think about something you <u>can</u> be.' p. 36

When Malcolm decided to become a lawyer, his teacher told him he had to be more "realistic." This was Malcolm's first rejection as a black individual by the white community. No matter how hard he tried, he began to realize that he cannot

become respectable in white eyes.

> It was then that I began to change--inside. I drew away from white people. I came to class, and I answered when called upon. It became a physical strain to sit in Mr. Ostrowski's class. p. 37

Detroit Red

> All praise is due to Allah that I went to Boston when I did. If I hadn't, I'd probably still be a brainwashed black Christian. p. 38

> I continued to think constantly about all that I had seen in Boston, and about the way I felt there. I know now that it was the sense of being a part of a mass of my own kind, for the first time. p. 35

At this point Malcolm is moving out of the white environment of Mason, Michigan and into a black ghetto. A ghetto which continued to be dominated by white values and white ideology, but it was one in which Malcolm comes to understand what white oppression and what blackness really mean.

> I spent my first month in town with my mouth hanging open. The sharp-dressed, young 'cats' who hung on the corners and in the poolrooms, bars, and restaurants, and who obviously didn't work anywhere, completely entranced me. I couldn't get over marveling at how their hair was straight and shinny like a white man's hair; Ella told me this was called a 'conk.' p. 43

> The congolene just felt warm when Shorty started combing it in. But then my head caught fire. . . . My eyes watered, my nose was running. I couldn't stand it any longer. . . . p. 53

> My first view in the mirror blotted out the hurting. I'd seen some pretty conks, but when it's the first time, on you own head, the transformation after a lifetime of kinks, is staggering . . . and on the top of my head was this thick, smooth sheen of shining red hair--real red--as straight as any white man's. p. 54

Even the black environment in which Malcolm was now submerged continued to inflict the white man's values on him.

Here he describes the physical pain he was willing to endure in order to look white, at least in the eyes of fellow blacks. Once again he is blaming himself, trying to become like the white man because being black means being ugly; being black means being rejected. His problem remains his blackness. During this same period, Malcolm comes to recognize certain aspects of blackness which he finds unique and exciting.

> I was up in the jostling crowd--and suddenly, unexpectedly, I got the idea. It was as though somebody had clicked on a light. My long-suppressed African instincts broke through and loose.
>
> Having spent much time in Mason's white environment, I had always believed and feared that dancing involved a certain order or pattern of specific steps--as dancing is done by whites. But there among my own less-inhibited people, I discovered it was simply letting your feet, hands, and body spontaneously act out whatever impulses were stirred by the music. pp. 56-57

. . . but still he is victimized by white ideology.

> Now at that time in Roxbury, in any black ghetto in America, to have a white woman who wasn't a known, common whore was for the average black man, at least--a status symbol of the first order. And this one, standing there, eyeing me, was almost too fine to believe. Shoulder-length hair, well built, and her clothes had cost somebody plenty. pp. 66-67

It was from white women that Malcolm learned that the white man was not all perfect.

> I got my first schooling about the cesspool morals of the white man from the best possible source, his own women. And then as I got deeper into my own life of evil, I saw the white man's morals with my own eyes. I even made a living helping to guide him to the sick things he wanted. p. 91

This is a crucial part of Malcolm's development. While continuing to blame himself, he now begins to see that individual white

men are also to blame. Individual white men with whom he has contact are seen as violators of the white norms. These evil individuals are to blame for the black man's problems, and Malcolm begins to oppose them.

> Profanity had become my language. I'd even curse customers, especially servicemen; I couldn't stand them. I remember that once, when some passenger complaints had gotten me a warning, and I wanted to be careful, I was working down the aisle and a big, beefy, red-faced cracker soldier got up in front of me, so drunk he was weaving, and announced loud enough that everybody in the car heard him, 'I'm going to fight you, nigger.' . . . I was able to keep that cracker stripping off clothes until he stood there drunk with nothing on from his pants up. . . . p. 77

The relationship between blacks in the ghetto was both competitive and supportive. Malcolm gives a good description of what Freire defines as "gregariousness."

> Many times since, I have thought about it, and what it really meant. In one sense, we were huddled in there, bonded together in seeking security and warmth and comfort from each other, and we didn't know it. p. 90

But Malcolm was a hustler. He wanted to be successful, and success in the ghetto meant crime. Crime was one way a black could both model the oppressor and strike out against the oppressor's values. If Malcolm couldn't become a lawyer, he would become a criminal; if he couldn't fulfill the white man's expectations for a successful white, he would fulfill the white man's expectations for a successful black.

Satan

As a child, Malcolm was interested in modeling the oppressor, in becoming respectable in the oppressor's eyes. When

his teacher tells him to forget being a lawyer, he turns toward less respectable models in the ghetto. The ghetto blacks blamed both themselves and individual white men. They underwent physical pain in order to straighten their hair and look white, while at the same time they lived off the white man's vices. Malcolm is not interested during this period in transforming the situation in which he finds himself, but rather in reforming himself, in becoming the best hustler there is. He strikes out against individual whites through crime, and yet has a white girlfriend who gives him status and prestige in the eyes of fellow blacks. His contact with the "very bottom of American white man's society" prepares him for a rejection of white ideology which he comes to see as hollow rhetoric.

> . . . I had sunk to the very bottom of the American white man's society when--soon, now, in prison--I found Allah and the religion of Islam and it completely transformed my life. p. 150

This change from rejecting self and individual oppressors to rejecting the oppressor's ideology is characterized by Freire as a move from naive consciousness in which an individual attempts to reform the existing system and make it work, to critical consciousness in which an individual seeks to transform the existing system, creating norms, procedures, policies and laws. This transition is not instantaneous, it requires more than a single incident. It occurs over time and in the case of Malcolm X manifested itself in various forms.

This period of Malcolm's life which includes the period

between his conversion to Islam and his visit to Mecca is characterized by a rejection of the white man's ideology, by a search for new role models, and by an increased sense of personal and racial worth. It is a period of purging, of exorcism, and of identification with his own African heritage.

Malcolm first sees the white man as the individual white oppressors in his own life. . . .

> The white people I had known marched before my mind's eye. From the start of my life. The state white people always in our house after the other whites I didn't know had killed my father . . . the white people who called my mother 'crazy' to her face . . . the white judge and others who had split up the children . . . white youngsters I was in school there with . . . Sophia . . . the white criminals I had dealt with . . . the white women who wanted Negro men. . . . pp. 159-160

Later "white man" comes to represent an evil force with no individuality or humanity. As part of the exorcism, the white man is generalized into a single, immoral mass. . . .

> Why the white man's raping of the black race's women began right on those slave ships! The blue-eyed devil could not even wait until he got them here! Why, brothers and sisters civilized mankind has never known such an orgy of greed and lust and murder. . . . p. 212

> I want you when you leave this room, to start to see all this whenever you see this devil white man. Oh yes, he's a devil! p. 213

As part of the purging process, new myths* are created, myths which glorify the oppressed and explain the oppressor's transgressions.

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*The author uses the term "myths" because Malcolm X recognized them as such: "I was to learn later that Elijah Muhammad's tales, like this one of Yacub, infuriated the Muslims of the East. . . . Their silence left a vacuum into which any religious faker could step and mislead our people." p. 168

> Elijah Muhammad teaches his followers that first the moon separated from the earth. Then, the first humans, Original Man, were a black people. They founded the Holy City, Mecca.
>
> Among this black race were twenty-four wise scientists . . . [and] a 'Mr. Yacub.' He was born to create trouble. . . . Though he was a black man, Mr. Yacub, embittered toward Allah now, decided, as revenge, to create upon the earth a devil race--a bleached out, white race of people.
>
> On the island of Patmos was nothing but these blond, pale-skinned, cold-blue-eyed devils--savages, nude and shameless: hairy, like animals, they walked on all fours and they lived in trees. pp. 164-166

These tales allowed Malcolm to question the old myths of white supremacy and gradually he began to see how he had been colluding with the oppressor to make oppression work.

> The white man's Christian religion further deceived and brainwashed this 'Negro' to always turn the other cheek, and grin, and scrape, and bow, and be humble, and to sing, and to pray . . . and to look for his pie in the sky, and for his heaven in the hereafter while right here on earth the slavemaster white man enjoyed his heaven. p. 163
>
> The very enormity of my previous life's guilt prepared me to accept the truth. p. 163

This self-critical understanding was accompanied by an increased understanding and sympathy for peers and family. Malcolm came to see how friends and family had been manipulated and victimized.

> . . . the man from Lansing jilted my mother suddenly. . . . From what I later understood, he finally backed away from taking on the responsibility of those eight mouths to feed. He was afraid of so many of us. To this day I can see the trap that Mother was in, saddled with all of us. And I can also understand why he would shun taking on such a tremendous responsibility. p. 18

As Malcolm becomes an active member of the Black Muslims, and one of their principal missionaries, he finds more and more

examples of white oppression and he begins to feel both personally and racially more powerful.

> And anything I was going to do, I was going to do my way. And because I wanted to do it. Not because I saw somebody do it. Or read about it in a book. Or saw it in a moving picture somewhere. p. 230

This personal self-sufficiency projected itself into an increased dependence on black resources and a subsequent independence from white resources.

> The stores were examples to help black people see what they could do for themselves by hiring their own kind and trading with their own kind and thus quit being exploited by the white man. p. 204

The purpose of these black-run stores was more than economic independence from white control, but rather a demonstration to both black and white of the capability of black people, an expression of self-esteem.

This period was also characterized by an effort toward self-growth and increased learning. Malcolm had been denied a formal education and now he began to see the importance of knowledge and its role in the liberation of his people.

> I have often reflected upon the new vistas that reading opened to me. . . . As I see it today, the ability to read awoke inside me some long dormant craving to be mentally alive. I certainly wasn't seeking any degree, the way a college confers a status symbol upon its students. My homemade education gave me with every additional book that I read, a little bit more sensitivity to the deafness, dumbness, and blindness that was afflicting the black race in America. p. 179

During most of this period, Malcolm X was dependent upon the charismatic leadership of Elijah Muhammad.

> To us, the Nation of Islam was Mr. Muhammad. What bonded us into the best organization black Americans ever had

> was every Muslim's devout regard for Mr. Muhammad as black America's moral, mental, and spiritual reformer. p. 288

When this faith was shattered, Malcolm X left for Mecca. This experience broadened his perspective and helped him see oppression as more than the result of an evil class of individuals called "white man," but rather as the result of a complex system which worked on an international scale.

Mecca

> That discussion with the ambassador gave me a new insight--one which I like: that the white man is not inherently evil, but America's racist society influences him to act evilly. The society has produced and nourishes a psychology which brings out the lowest, most base part of human beings. p. 371

> In the past I have made sweeping indictments of all white people. I never will be guilty of that again--as I know now that some white people are truly sincere, that some truly are capable of being brotherly toward a black man. p. 362

These are excellent examples of what Freire describes as critical consciousness. The problem is no longer in individuals or groups of individuals, but in a system, a complex interrelationship of norms, procedures, policies and laws which work to victimize both the oppressed and the oppressor. It is the system that is to blame, and it is the system which must be changed.

> The word for revolution in German is Umwalzung. What it means is a complete overturn--a complete change. The overthrow of King Farouk in Egypt and the succession of President Nasser is an example of a true revolution. It means the destroying of an old system, and its replacement with a new system. p. 367

Furthermore, at the critical level of consciousness, the indi-

vidual sees that this system works on an international scale.

> The white man's system has been imposed upon non-white peoples all over the world. This is exactly the reason why wherever people who are anything but white live in this world today, the white man's governments are finding themselves in deeper and deeper trouble and peril. p. 274

> But you waste your time if you don't realize that Verwoerd and Salazar, and Britain and France, never could last a day if it were not for United States support. So until you expose the man in Washington, D.C., you haven't accomplished anything. p. 354

Malcolm X's faith in Allah never waivered; it became more profound as his life experiences became more difficult, until in the end of his autobiography he says,

> And if I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help to destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America--then all the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine. p. 382

And even though he sees his life as controlled by Allah, yet he maintains that as an instrument of Allah he, as an individual, must also act.

> I felt that Allah would be more inclined to help those who helped themselves. p. 195

Malcolm X's faith was not that of a hopeless victim enduring the suffering of this life and depending on rewards in a heavenly after-life. His faith was a source of strength and a justification for struggling against suffering in this life; a mandate to oppose injustice now; a command to act in the interest of liberation.

Freire suggests the critical stage individual is more scientific, willing to challenge old dogmas, and to find new

truths from new experiences. This also is borne out in Malcolm X's experience.

> You may be shocked by these words coming from me. But on this pilgrimage, what I have seen, and experienced, has forced me to rearrange much of my thought-patterns previously held, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions. This was not too difficult for me. Despite my firm convictions I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experience and new knowledge unfolds it. p. 340

> I would like to study. I mean ranging study, because I have a wide-open mind. I'm interested in almost any subject you can mention. p. 380

In the Epilogue to Malcolm X's autobiography, Alex Haley says:

> But in explaining Malcolm, let me take a care not to explain him away. He had been a criminal, an addict, a pimp, and a prisoner; a racist, and a hater, he had really believed the white man was a devil. But all this had changed. Two days before his death, in commenting to Gordon Parks about his past life he said, 'That was a mad scene. The sickness and madness of those days! I'm glad to be free of them.'
>
> And Malcolm was free. No one who knew him before and after his trip to Mecca could doubt that he had completely abandoned racism, separatism and hatred. But he had not abandoned his shock-effect statements, his bristling agitation for immediate freedom in this country, not only for blacks, but for everybody. pp. 458-459

Summary

Magical consciousness is characterized by acceptance and resignation in the face of brutality and overt oppression. It is typified by silence; by very short responses to very complex questions; by simplistic causal relationships; and by the absence of guilt. The respondents in the first case study were unable to conceive of changing the situation in which they found themselves, they were content to believe that those con-

ditions were governed by forces beyond their control, and that their only problems were biological survival.

Malcolm X was never a victim of magical consciousness. He was born into a family which had already rejected acceptance and resignation, which saw events as influenced by men as well as by God and other uncontrollable factors, and which went further than biological survival in terms of defining one's problems. Malcolm was born into an environment in which the central problem was what Freire describes as characteristic of naive consciousness.

> The oppressed live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor. (Freire, 1968, p. 33)

Malcolm wanted to be white, to be like the oppressor. First he wanted to be a lawyer, to be successful in the eyes of respectable whites. When he realized he could not be successful in white eyes, he wanted to be "white" in the eyes of other blacks; to be respected because he had a better "conk" and a pretty, white girlfriend.

The desire to be white carried with it a need to reject being black. Rejection of one's self is a specific form of self-deprecation.

> Self-deprecation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. (Freire, 1968, p. 49)

But his experience led him to see individual white men as evil, to reject those evil individuals and to seek comfort in being with men like himself.

> Tragically frightened, men fear authentic relationships and even doubt the possibility of their existence. On the other hand, fearing solitude, they gather in groups lacking in any critical and loving ties which might transform them into a cooperative unit, into a true community. (Freire, 1973, p. 6)

At this point Malcolm discovered Allah and Elijah Muhammed. His life is transformed by new myths of racial history, by an increased sense of self-worth, and by a fanatical faith in a single individual.

> If a person does not move from naive transitivity to a critical consciousness but instead falls into fanaticized consciousness, he will become even more disengaged from reality. . . . In the semi-intransitive state, men are predominantly illogical; in fanaticized consciousness the distortion of reason makes men irrational. The possibility of dialogue diminishes markedly. Men are defeated and dominated, though they do not know it; they fear freedom, though they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice. They are directed; they do not direct themselves. Their creative power is impaired. They are objects, not subjects. (Freire, 1973, pp. 19-20)

Malcolm comes to see events in a larger context and moves from fanaticized to critical consciousness. He became disillusioned with old heroes, and saw the interrelationship of complex forces which operate to coerce both oppressor and oppressed. He no longer blamed individuals, but saw this complex interaction of forces as to blame. He became scientific in his outlook, testing solutions, challenging old ideas.

> The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's 'findings' and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility;

> by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old--by accepting what is valid in both old and new. (Freire, 1973, p. 18)

Whereas in the first example we saw the results of oppression in producing a magical, or semi-intransitive, consciousness, in the second example we saw how a single individual may move during his/her lifetime through various stages of consciousness. These real-life examples of how different stages of consciousness may manifest themselves suggest that Freire's theory holds potential as one way of viewing the complex interrelationship between thought and action in oppressed people.

C H A P T E R I I I

DEVELOPING THE CODE

Introduction

Chapter III is divided into two parts. Part A defines the theoretical basis for the "C" coding system as it originates from Freire's published writings. It specifies how the characteristics of the three principal stages of consciousness manifest themselves at each stage and at each aspect. Examples are given which help the reader relate the abstract concept to reality. Two sub-stages, or transitional stages are described briefly and two different forms of visualizing conscientizacao growth are presented.

Part B outlines a series of criteria for any conceptually coherent developmental concept. These criteria are then compared with the theoretical framework presented in Part A and the conclusion drawn that conscientizacao could be considered as a coherent developmental concept, and as such should correspond to the conceptual limitations and requisites of other developmental theories such as those developed by Piaget, Maslow, Kohlberg, Loevinger and others.

Part A

Freire describes conscientizacao as a process of becoming more fully human, a developmental process which can be

divided into three distinct stages: magical, naive and critical consciousness. Each of these stages has been subdivided by the author into three aspects of characteristic responses to implicit existential questions: what are the most dehumanizing problems in your life? (NAMING); what are the causes and consequences of those problems? (REFLECTING); and, what can be done to solve those problems? (ACTING). This chapter describes the distinctive ways in which an hypothetical individual names, reflects and acts at each of the three developmental stages of conscientizacao.

There are several different ways in which conscientizacao can be visualized. The Conscientizacao Coding Categories Diagram is perhaps the simplest visualization. Specific coding categories are divided into one of nine boxes, each box representing a particular aspect and level of "C." Each level is divided into two sublevels, labeled "1" and "2." This chart places principal emphasis on the three major levels and aspects of "C" and is particularly helpful in labeling specific coding categories as to level and aspect. Its principal drawback is that it oversimplifies the developmental process.

The Conscientizacao Development Diagram gives the reader a better sense of the fluid nature of "C" development. The chart is divided into the basic aspects and levels, but no specific coding categories are presented. Emphasis has been placed on showing how "C" growth takes place. The arrows indicate movement from magical to critical.

Conscientizacao Coding Catagories Diagram

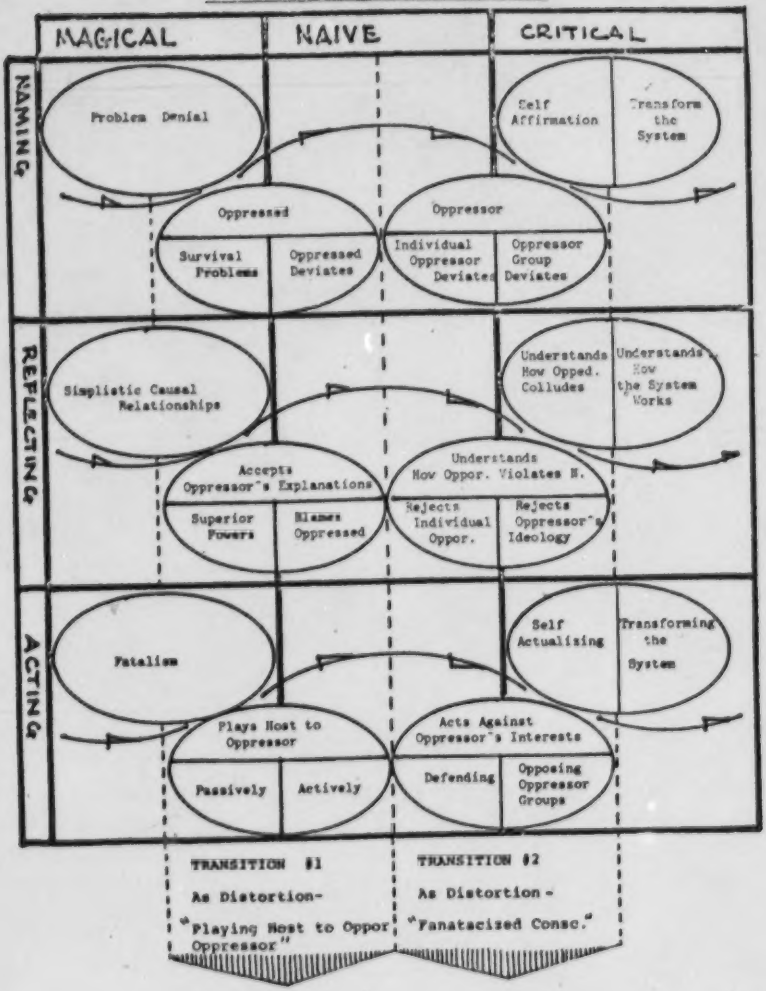
	M Magical Consciousness "Conforming"	N Naive Consciousness "Reforming"	C Critical Consciousness "Transforming"
I. Naming	1. Problem Denial · a. overt denial · b. problem avoidance 2. Survival Problems · a. poor physical state/health · b. poverty · c. lack of work · d. insufficient work · e. money as end in itself	1. Oppressed Deviates from Ideal Expectations a. Oppressor not like oppressor b. oppressed not meet oppr's expectations c. horizontal oppression/intra-punitive 2. Individual Oppr. Deviates from Ideal Expectations Individual: · a. Oppr violates laws · b. Oppr violates norms	1. Rejection of Oppr/Self-Fem Affirmation · a. rejects modeling oppressor · b. seeks to maintain ethnicity · c. seeks to affirm uniqueness 2. Transform System · a. procedures) people · b. rejects oppressive system
II. Reflecting	1. Facts Attributed to Superior Powers a. Uncontrollable factors: economic pressures/etc. b. fear of oppr. c. oppr inevitable winner d. accepting for oppr. 2. Simplistic Causal Relationships · a. blame physical state/poverty/health · b. blame objects over people	1. Playing Host to Oppr's Ideology · a. accepts oppr explanations/perceptions/theories · b. self peer depreciations · c. blames ancestors · d. self-pity 2. Understands How Oppr. Violates Norms · a. sees intentionality by oppressor · b. sees relationships between oppr/oppr's agents · c. responsibility from one oppr to another	1. Understands/Rejects Oppr's Ideology/Him/Her Collusion · a. sympathy/understanding of peers · b. self critical/sees control/collusion actions and critical goals · c. rejects horizontal aggression · d. sees oppr as weak/victim of system · e. rejects oppr/ideology Understands How System Works a. sees system as cause b. sees actions/behaviors/results c. makes basic economic analysis d. generalizes from one oppressive system to another
III. Acting	1. Fatalism a. resignation b. acceptance 2. Passively Playing Host to Oppressor · a. waiting for "good" luck/fate/etc. · b. dependency on oppr.	1. Actively Playing Host to Oppr. (Collusion) a. models oppr. behavior b. non-directed aggression c. paternalistic/control peers d. needs oppr's expectations 2. Defending a. progressiveness b. limits system work c. avoids oppressor d. agrees with oppr.	1. Self Actualizing · a. seeks appropriate role models · b. personal/political self criticism · c. self-growth (transforming learning · d. values/beliefs · e. faith in peers/peer learning · f. holding/risk taking/goal related actions · g. reliance on community resources/organization · h. agrees/disagrees/accepts 2. Transforming the System a. dialogue) patience b. commitment c. scientific approach d. change norms/laws/procedures

FIGURE-1

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING CATAGORIES DIAGRAM

Figure- 2

CONSCIENTIZACAO DEVELOPMENT DIAGRAM



One important result of this diagram is to indicate two (2) major transition stages. These stages do not constitute separate levels of consciousness but rather indicate transition stages which combine characteristics of two levels. It is these transition stages which lend themselves to distortion. When distorted, the characteristics described in Transition 1 become stable, consolidated and constitute a major behavior pattern which can be characterized as Playing Host to the Oppressor. Transition 2, when distorted, can be characterized as "Fanaticized" Consciousness. It is hoped that this diagram will help the reader see conscientizacao as a fluid developmental process, rather than a rigid behavioral description designed to create a new set of pigeon holes. A single individual may demonstrate verbal behavior across the "C" behavioral spectrum. The spectrum is helpful to the degree it promotes understanding of what consciousness might mean.

Magical, or Semi-Intransitive Consciousness

Individuals at this first stage of consciousness are trapped by the "myth of natural inferiority." "They know that they do things, what they do not know is that men's actions transforming." (Freire, 1972, p. 30) It is this sense of impotence which prevents individuals from naming their problems in dehumanizing terms, which ties them to magical explanations, and which limits their activities to passive acceptance. Rather than resisting or changing the reality in which they find themselves, they conform to it.

> Magic consciousness is characterized by fatalism, which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts. (Freire, 1973, p. 44)

a. Naming: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

Two levels of responses can be defined as characteristic of the naming aspect of magical consciousness: problem denial and survival problems. At the problem denial level, individuals either overtly deny that they have problems, or they avoid problems by locating them in another time or place. Ecuadorian farmers are often heard to say, "We do not have these problems." "Things used to be this way when authorities did not bother to look for progress." Or, "We do not have haciendas here, these problems do not apply to us." In each case, the facts contradict the individual's perception of the facts. While it may be true that haciendas no longer exist in some communities, the oppressive situation generated by the hacienda tradition remains. But because individuals feel unable to affect any change in the situation, they are unable to see the fundamental truth that the conditions themselves have not changed.

At the second level of naming, individuals are able to say that they have problems but these problems are defined in terms of physical or biological survival. "Because we plant things the same way every year, the earth gets tired." "With ten sucres we can't buy anything these days." Money will

often become a central concern as it will be seen as the only way to feed and clothe one's family.

> Men of semi-intransitive consciousness cannot apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity. Their interests center almost totally around survival, and they lack a sense of life on a more historic plane. . . . In this sense only, semi-intransitivity represents a near disengagement between men and their existence. (Freire, 1973, p. 17)

It is this disengagement, this alienation from existence which prevents individuals from seeing the "facts" (poor land, poor health, poverty, lack of work and money as an end in itself) as problems. In their minds, there is little or no chance of transforming the situation. The facts may change, but they are little more than spectators.

b. Reflecting: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?

Again, this aspect of magical consciousness is characterized by two basic orientations: attributing facts to superior powers in order to explain why things are as they are and a simplistic view of causal relationships. Freire says:

> Magical consciousness . . . simply apprehends facts and attributes to them a superior power by which it is controlled and to which it must therefore submit. (Freire, 1973, p. 44)

> Men confuse their perceptions of the objects and challenges of the environment and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality. (Freire, 1973, p. 17)

One of the most accepted cliches concerning rural Latin American farmers is that they are fatalistic. The accepted response to a request that a friend stop by your house

is, "If God wishes." Numerous explanations have been offered for the pervasiveness of fatalistic attitudes among rural farmers; the dependence upon climate, or the importance of the Catholic church, etc. But the crucial factor which Freire elucidates is the inherent logic of this position within the context of magical consciousness.

The individuals who are unable to perceive their condition as problematic, but rather as simply a composite of facts over which they have no control, generally relies on some external force to define and alter those facts. God, fate, luck, the "times" all play this role. It is important here to distinguish between a fatalistic dependence on a superior power which leads to a numbing passivity and is considered magical, and a genuine belief in the existence of a superior power which can release powerful, spiritual resources within an individual, and is considered critical. Malcolm X is a good example of the second instance. He seems quite genuine when writing in his autobiography that he owed all to Allah. His belief in Allah's omnipotence and rightness is a source of strength, a justification, and a stimulus for personal involvement.

Neither a belief in God, nor humility in the face of God characterizes mythical consciousness, but rather a dependence on God for action, and a denial of the human capacity to act with God to change events. A classic cliche is appropriate here, "God helps those who help themselves."

In an oppressive situation, the fatalistic dependence

can go even further than dependence upon metaphysical forces: the power to transform the situation can also be invested in the oppressor. Oppressors seem to the oppressed to be independent of supernatural forces. The oppressor is the actor--the subject of existence. This level of understanding results in humility, fear of the oppressor and ultimately in a belief that the oppressor is always the winner. Examples of codable responses include: "Things are in God's hands." "It is a question of luck that the hacienda owner is rich." "God doesn't want to give us anymore, that's for sure." "They [hacienda owners] are the ones who speak, and we are afraid." "We are afraid when they speak to us, when our babies cry on the buses and they call us bitches and horny."

Magical level individuals will also empathize with the oppressor. They will demonstrate not only an understanding but a sympathy for the oppressor's problems. Seeing the oppressor as engendering many of the qualities of superior powers, they will identify power with goodness and rightness. God is not evil because he does not make it rain, neither are oppressors evil because they make the campesino work hard. Common responses from Ecuadorian campesinos illustrate this point clearly. "The hacendado is the most honest there can be. He pays his taxes which benefit the entire pueblo, and then they criticize him." "The poor hacendados." "When you say the priest charges a lot you don't take into consideration that he must also live, eat, and dress."

Behavior typical of this stage of consciousness is that individuals, while continuing to rely on magical explanations, will see simplistic causal relationships. "We can't study because we don't have any money." "Our indian people don't go to school, don't study anything, that's why they don't understand anything." Men at the magical level of consciousness see the relationship between two events, money and school, or school and understanding, but they fail to ask why they do not have money or why they do not go to school. These questions remain unanswered because they feel the solutions are in the hands of others. They place the blame on physical states and objects (money, school) rather than on other people or on the interaction between events. In all cases, this level of reflection leaves the oppressed individual with little or no opportunity for intervention in the situation.

c. Acting: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Once individuals have denied they have problems or defined their problem exclusively in terms of survival "facts," once they have analyzed the situation and discovered a dependence on God, nature, and the oppressor, their logical course of action is to resign themselves to the situation, conform to things as they are, and wait for things to change. This resignation and acceptance are easily recognized in statements such as "There is nothing we can do." "We must wait for the patron to return." "This is the way things are." "But what can we do?"

Instead of resisting, the individual passively "plays host to the oppressor." Freire uses this term to describe a situation in which the oppressed individual provides sustenance to the oppressor's beliefs much as a biological host provides sustenance to a parasite. If the oppressor believes they have the answer to the oppressed's problems, the oppressed is willing to wait for the answer. If the oppressor believes that the hacienda system is the only reasonable social arrangement, the oppressed is willing to accept that situation as beneficial, One rural farmer said, "If the hacienda owner makes money from the hacienda, we are given work by the hacienda. What would we do if the hacienda ever disappeared? We need it as much as the hacienda owner does."

The oppressor becomes the model of what is good. From their lands individuals are given work, from their table they are given food, and from their charity they are given health. If the hacienda owner is bad, the oppressed must conform to his will and wait for him to become good. What can be done? . . . Nothing. What should be done? . . . Wait. What have you done? . . . Wait. What will you do? . . . Wait some more.

Naive or Transitive Consciousness

The move from magical to naive consciousness is a move from conforming to the inevitable facts of life, to reforming specific aberrations in individuals within a basically sound system. The contradiction which the naive individual faces is between an idealized system which should work, and specific

violations of that system by evil or ignorant individuals. If those individuals could be made to "reform" their ways, then the system would function perfectly.

As Freire describes this attitude, it appears to be both naive and romantic:

> The state of [transitive] consciousness . . . is characterized by an oversimplification of problems . . . fanciful explanations . . . and fragility of argument. (Freire, 1973, p. 18)

Individuals oversimplify problems by attributing the causes to individuals rather than to the system itself. Their explanations are fanciful in that they try to understand the individual apart from the system in which they operate and this ultimately leads to arguments which dissolve in the face of reality.

"by nostalgia for the past. . . ." (Freire, 1973, p. 18) In the past, things seemed to work better. There may have been less comforts, less opportunitites than now, but things were also less complicated, people understood what role they had to play. This idealization of the past is typical of the romantic.

> "By a strong tendency to gregariousness, practice of polemics rather than dialogue. . . ." (Freire, 1973, p. 18)

Individuals spend time together seeking mutual comfort and an escape from the problems of everyday life. They drink together and talk of better times or of the hopelessness of their situation. When they talk of what "should" be done, they inevitably refer to what <u>others</u> should do, or what they must do to reform themselves or the individual oppressor who is violating the

system's norms. Better means making the status quo work; a better tomorrow can only mean a perfection of today's norms.

> For the naive thinker the important thing is accommodation to this normalized 'today.' (Freire, 1968, p. 81)

a. Naming: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

The naive individual sees the ideal system (the church, the law, the government, the coop) as a provider, a source of support with norms and rules governing its conduct. The patron is permitted to pay low wages, but when indians become sick, the patron must care for them. The patron is permitted to own most of the land, but when the indians bring their baskets of fruit and eggs* the patron must listen to their complaints. Lawyers are permitted to charge a lot of money, but they must appear to put up a good legal defense. Priests can charge for a baptism, but they must wear their best robes and have a "pretty" ceremony. Problem statements take the form of deviations from ideal expectations, from the legitimate norms of the oppressed, and can be either inner directed or outer directed.

Inner directed norm violations refer to those incidents in which the oppressed see themselves as the problem; their uncleanliness, their habits, their behavior. The oppressed blame themselves for not being like the oppressor or for not

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*This is a rural custom which parallels appeasing the the gods before asking favors.

meeting the oppressor's expectations for them. Furthermore, they strike out against each other, seeing friends, family, and other peers as the problem. This is referred to by Freire as horizontal aggression and intrapunitiveness.

Outer directed problem statements refer to an individual or group of individuals from the oppressor class who are taking advantage of their role and violating the rules of the paternalistic system. The important distinction here is that the statements inevitably refer to an individual or group of individuals, but never to a system, a complex interrelationship of individuals coerced by expectations and norms. "So he [hacienda owner] sells the land to whoever, sells it in cash to those rich people who have money." "They [authorities] pay us, but very little."

b. Reflecting: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?

The process of reflection follows logically from the process of naming. Individuals simplistically blame themselves or they blame a specific individual or group of oppressors. This is part of the process Freire calls "playing host to the oppressor." In this sense, individuals are playing host to the oppressor's ideology, to their beliefs. The oppressed internalize those beliefs and make them their own. This is an active process, a deliberate effort, as opposed to the passive acceptance described as part of magical consciousness. If the oppressed blame themselves, they first accept the oppressors'

explanation for why things are as they are. "I know a boy who was born on a hacienda and could have made a fortune many times, but he drank instead." "Campesinos drink because they are vice-ridden." "We are backward because we call people to meetings with cow horn." These are all statements one could expect to hear at a cocktail party of oppressors. But they come from the oppressed, talking about themselves. Interestingly enough, education has become one of the ways in which the oppressed most conspicuously accept the oppressor's explanation. In Latin America, education was traditionally considered either irrelevant for the campesino or the responsibility of the patron. A new emphasis on literacy and on self-help projects has transferred this responsibility to the oppressed. Not only are oppressed individuals unschooled, but they are to blame for not building a school or for not attending classes which are humiliating and irrelevant. Problem statements are straight-forward acceptance of guilt: "I am not doing what I am supposed to do," or "The campesino doesn't study; the campesino doesn't work, the campesino isn't organized." The acceptance of the oppressor's explanations leads to self-deprecation, the oppressed are constantly putting themselves down. "We live like animals." "We are dirty." "I can't learn to read and write." Many times oppressed individuals will refer to themselves in the third person: "the campesinos, the people of the campo, the poor people, them" indicating that they see themselves as an object, acted upon, rather than a subject

capable of action.

They will made negative references to their peer group: "That is the way these bastards are." "They go bad in their business and they become a woman-chaser and a drunkard." "They drink because they are vice-ridden." (These are all statements made by campesinos about other campesinos.) They will demonstrate a lack of confidence in self and peers and engage in self-pity. "We don't know how to remember, we can't think, there is no one to teach us." Blaming their ancestors is still another way in which the oppressed individuals place blame on themselves. By accusing their family of having done nothing for them, they strike out against their own cultural roots and consequently against themselves.

If, on the other hand, the oppressed individuals blame the oppressor for the norm violations, they will begin to make negative references to the oppressor, indicating an outer-directed aggression. They will see intentionality on the part of the oppressor. "They [authorities] feel that only they should be privileged." "They want from the innocent." "The other families wanted to get a lawyer and did get him out of jail, but he was already beaten up, and if they had left him in jail, the police would have beaten him more." They will see the relationship between the oppressor and their agents. "And what she told her workers to do, they did." They will begin to see contradictions between the oppressor's image of the system, and the real-life results. "We have the obligation

to send our children to school, but we have no money to do it with." They will be able to generalize from one individual oppressor to another. "Not only does the lawyer take advantage of us, but the doctor too when he always tells campesinos that they have liver trouble." It is important to note here that the oppressor is seen as a single individual or as several individuals, but not as a whole group, or as a system.

Oppressed individuals at the naive level of consciousness accept that something is wrong. They can identify specific injustices and relate long stories of how they are exploited. But their understanding does not go beyond blaming individuals. They fail to see that a system of powerful forces act together to coerce both the oppressed and the oppressor. They naively, romantically, nostalgically assume that individuals are basically free agents, independent of the socio-economic system in which they live.

c. Acting: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Individuals' actions are necessarily related to their understanding of the situation. If they feel they are to blame or their peers are to blame, they will work to alter their behavior. They will model the oppressor's behavior. Education will take on more significance as the way to get into the oppressor's system. They will dress differently, try to look like the oppressor physically, and take on the oppressor's habits.

> . . . they live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor. . . . (Freire, 1968, p. 33)

Two ways of relating to one's peers reflect this attempt to internalize the oppressor's views and behavior, a paternalistic attitude and leadership style mirroring the good patrons. "They need the help of a community leader." "I am the only one who is awake because the others are blind not knowing to read or write." They can become aggressive, which Freire calls horizontal or misdirected violence.

> Chafing under the restrictions of this order, they often manifest a type of horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades for the pettiest reasons. (Freire, 1968, p. 48)

Examples from Ecuadorian campesinos include: "And we stay drunk, fighting with others." "The mayordomo had to pay me, but that indian wouldn't do it." "They [other campesinos] called me deaf and dumb for being a Protestant."

A closely related form of misdirected violence is intrapunitiveness in which individuals turn against themselves and their family. Wife-beating, drunkenness, and gambling are forms of aggression against the self and the family.

If oppressed individuals blame the individual oppressor for violating the norms, they will either seek comfort or form defensive associations. The first tendency is to see strength in numbers, to band together and look for support in unity. But the unity will not necessarily had any external goal other than psychological comfort. After a meeting at which common problems were discussed, a campesino dais: "We should have more

of these meetings, keep meeting like this, it feels good." This kind of gregariousness is useful in helping to break down the negative stereotypes which campesinos have developed about themselves and their peers. But it can easily be transformed into an escape from reality and a reliance on clichés. "With union there is strength" is a commonly heard phrase in the rural areas of Ecuador. Well-meaning white, change-agents introduced it, but it has become simply another way in which campesinos blame themselves for their own condition. "If we formed cooperatives we wouldn't have to wait on the rich man." "If someone has a penny, another pays the carpenter, another pays for the nails, then with union and understanding we have strength." In these examples, it is clear that union is seen as a way of making things better, of reforming the situation.

A second alternative is to try to make the existing system work, to use the system, rather than transform it, to get what the individual wants. This is basically a defensive reaction, seeking to use the existing system to reduce the negative consequences of that system. Naive stage individuals will also try to avoid the oppressor, seeking to defend themselves from their actions. Open opposition to an individual oppressor is also considered as a defensive reaction. Even though boldness and risk-taking are characteristic of the opposition, opposing an individual rather than a group or system is considered naive.

Critical or Transitive Consciousness

At the third level of consciousness, the issue is transformation of an unjust system, rather than the reformation or destruction of certain individuals. This process of transformation has two aspects: (1) a personal self-affirmation and rejection of playing host, and (2) a conscious empirical attempt to replace the oppressive system with a system both just and malleable. Unlike naive consciousness, the individual does not blame individuals, but rather demonstrates a true understanding of himself and of the system which coerces both the oppressed and the oppressor into collusion.

> The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principals for magical explanations; by the testing of one's findings and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old; by accepting what is valid in both old and new. (Freire, 1973, p. 18)

a. Naming: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

Oppressed individuals moving into the third stage of consciousness come to realize that no matter how hard they try, they cannot be like the oppressor; and they decide they do not want to be like the oppressor. A growing sense of self-worth allows them to reject the oppressor as a role model. They focus upon their own ethnicity, not because they hate the op-

pressor and want to be different, but because they want to be themselves unique persons who are honest about their heritage and their habits. In answer to the question, "Should things be as they are?," they may respond, "No, because I am not allowed to be myself; I want to be me." Or, "Everyone tries to control us, telling us what to be like. Why can't we decide for ourselves?"

It is not only the results of their relationship with the oppressor but the very nature of that relationship which becomes important. What the naive individual sees as the "good" patron, the critical individual sees as patronizing white liberalism. Anger and indignation result, even if help, support, and tangible benefits are the consequences of paternalism. It is more important to do it yourself even if you fail, than to have it done for you and succeed. "How can they [the oppressor] help us; they only try to make themselves feel good, appear as though they are making the revolution." "No matter what we do, they will take credit for our growth, but we know better." This is not a mere shutting out of the oppressor, it is a conscious effort toward creating something new.

Self-esteem, both personal and ethnic, will replace negative references to self and peers. Instead of the "lazy campesino," more frequent references are made to the "campesino's solidarity" and the "campesino's understanding of nature." Stupidity and unfitness will be seen as products of oppression

rather than inherent qualities. More and more references will be made to the ignorance and ineptness of the oppressor. They become vulnerable individuals, losing their mythical quality of omnipotence and the irrational qualities of demonic evilness.

Oppressed individuals gradually come to feel like a "subject" rather than an "object." Sentence structure increasingly emphasizes "I" and "we" as opposed to "me" and "us." Third person objectification of the oppressed (the campesinos, the poor) disappear in favor of "us" and "our problems, our strengths." Community problems rather than personal problems are emphasized.

Individuals come to focus on the "system." They see specific rules, events, relationships, and procedures as merely examples of systematic institutionalized injustice. Deviation and deprivations are not the exception but the rule. The consequences are not unique to a single time and place and person, but long-lasting, widespread and generalized. Their anger and indignation are not directed at an individual, but at the policies, norms, procedures and laws which that individual enforces. "Why blame Richard Nixon; the trouble is with capitalism."

b. Reflecting: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?

Being able to name the problem as the system and not as a single individual allows oppressed individuals to under-

stand (1) how they collude to make the system work, and (2) how the oppressor colludes to make it work. They see what "playing host to the oppressor" means in terms of their own actions. They see that while an individual hacendado may be evil, the problem is much more complex, involving historical tradition, vested interests, and political power. Sympathy and understanding of one's peers replaces the self-pity characteristic of naive consciousness. Rather than constant references as to how put down "they" are, the individual begins to explain why "we" are as we are. Instead of statements such as "They spend all day in the sun, poor guys," the critical individual says, "We drink [alcohol] because it hurts to be poor." Blame is placed on oneself, on others, and on the system of relationships which binds them together.

The oppressor is no longer invulnerable, rather an ordinary wo/man with weaknesses and faults. As the oppresseds' image of the oppressor becomes more realistic, their image of self and peer group also becomes more realistic. They come to see that self and peers are not only good, but also powerful. They overtly reject horizontal violence and intrapunitiveness. From the oppressive experience, they have acquired a unique sense of purpose and a unique set of skills. Their struggle has made them strong, and it is this strength rather than the oppressor's goodwill, which eventually will make them free. There is a full-scale rejection of the oppressor's ideology including the oppressor's behavior and beliefs. Reflecting

at the critical state of consciousness oppressed individuals are able to clearly define the contradictions between their own actions and their liberation goals. Individuals see clearly how they collude to make the system work. This may result in blaming oneself, but this is not self-deprecation, but rather a realistic understanding of one's weaknesses.

At the second sublevel of critical consciousness, the oppressed individual generalizes from one oppressive system to another. Not only do individuals see how the lawyer and the priest take advantage of them, they see the relationship between the banking system which denies loans to rural farmers because they lack capital, and a religious system which requires the richest campesino each year to spend all his earnings on a festival for the entire community. Both systems operate to keep the campesino poor and both are systems rather than the results of a particular evil individual. This allows the individual to see the contradiction between the system's rhetoric and its real-life results.

> Critical consciousness represents "things and facts as they exist empirically in their causal and circumstantial correlations. . . . (Freire, 1973, p. 44)

Critical reflection places emphasis on a scientific attitude toward the world in considering both the system and in understanding how one has played host to the oppressor. The analysis goes beyond self and extends out to macro-socio-economic spheres. Individuals see how world economics operate to coerce and manipulate the oppressive system on a micro-

or community level, and consequently perceive the need for group power to combat its effects.

c. Acting: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Actions take two directions; toward self-actualizing and toward transforming the system. The individual must seek out new role models. A search for individuals who are neither fanatics nor oppressors is a good indicator of critical activity. Faith in peers is demonstrated through reliance on peer learning. "We have learned that we can learn from each other." Aggressiveness is directed against the oppressor and/or against the system. Reliance is placed on community resources rather than dependence on outsiders. Actions demonstrate the importance of community participation--community defined as the extended oppressed group as well as a limited geographical area of residence. Accompanying a reliance on community there is also reliance on self which may appear to the oppressor as arrogance. New information, new perspectives are tested and revised according to the results of actions. Deliberate attempts are made to locate new information: reading, discussing, traveling take on new importance. Reflection and action become interdependent, a constant cycle of thinking and doing designed to improve the accuracy of understanding. This process Freire calls praxis which is opposed to either excessive emphasis on rhetoric and hypothesizing which he calls naive verbalism or on isolated actions he calls naive activism.

Boldness and risk-taking become more a part of the individuals' style. They are less afraid of change than they are sick of the status quo. They are more willing to act in ways which previously seemed dangerous and inappropriate. As they realize that it is the system that is to blame, they are able to act in ways which the system defines as wrong. "Look friends, when 50 of us go, they cannot beat up all of us." Or, "We should go directly to the head authorities." Both of these activities threaten the paternalistic system because they are outside of the accepted norms. The system may try to defend itself by adjusting its norms to include inappropriate behavior. Demonstrations are now accepted as normal in the United States. But when Saul Alinsky threatened to occupy all the toilets in Chicago's International Airport for an entire day, this represented more than a mere demonstration. Inappropriateness was elevated to another level beyond the system's ability to adjust, and the threat alone worked.

The self-actualizing process we have described is in part an ejection of the oppressor, an exorcism of the values and habits which the oppressed have been forced to swallow. Unlike the fanatic, the critical individual will not seek out conflict, but will be prepared to accept conflict if it comes. The rejection may inhibit the oppressed individual's ability to maintain normal relationships with members of the oppressor group. At the same time, an inner growth begins through which the individual finds a unique historical and personal identity

to fill the void left by the oppressor. Instead of raving against the oppressor, the individual is interested in talking to his peers. Hating the oppressor is simply less important than understanding one's peers. It is a pro-peer, rather than an anti-oppressor stance.

Once the oppressor has been ejected and the process of self-actualization begun, the individual is free to explore cooperation as a way of transforming the unjust system. Cooperation differs from massification not necessarily in the size of the group but in the quality of the relationships which hold the group together. Critical level organizations of oppressed peoples see power not as a way to destroy the oppressor or as a means of defending themselves against the oppressor, but as a way of creating a system of justice, a new system of relationships. One can imagine a cooperative formed to get better prices at the local market. But a truly transforming cooperative movement would attempt to create a model system, an alternative to rural capitalism, a new way of looking at the relationship between producer and consumer. The distinctive mark of critical consciousness is the relationship established among the oppressed themselves.

> Radicalization . . . is predominantly critical, loving, humble, and communicative, and therefore a positive stance. The man who has made a radical option does not deny another man's right to choose, nor does he try to impose his own choice. He can discuss respective positions. He is convinced he is right, but respects another man's perogative to judge himself correct. He tries to convince and convert, not to crush his opponent. (Freire, 1973, p. 10)

Fanaticized Consciousness

Fanaticized consciousness is not one of the three principal developmental stages of conscientizacao, but rather a distortion which Freire discussed as being somewhere between naive and critical consciousness. Even though fanaticized consciousness is not a part of the formal coding system, a brief discussion of it is included here because Freire places a good deal of emphasis on its possible dangers. Fanaticized consciousness may be one of several major semi-levels which lie between the three basic levels identified by Freire.

> There is a close potential relationship between naive transitivity and massification. If a person does not move from naive transitivity to critical consciousness but instead falls into a fanaticized consciousness, he will become even more disengaged from reality than in the semi-intransitive state. (Freire, 1968, p. 20)

The emphasis in fanaticized consciousness is on massification; not the transformation of an oppressive situation into a liberating one, but rather the exchange of one oppressive situation for another. Through massification, the oppressed become tools, manipulated by a small group of charismatic leaders.

> Men are defeated and dominated though they don't know it; they fear freedom, though they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice. They are directed; they do not direct themselves. (Freire, 1968, p. 20)

Those who lead, do so through the creation of a mythical individual, the "super-ethnic," who embodies all the cultural stereotypes of the oppressed group. This super-ethnic becomes both the protagonist in a life and death struggle

against the oppressor and the ideal against which the oppressed must measure themselves. Rather than playing host to the oppressor, the oppressed are asked to play host to a distorted and irrational image of themselves.

> In the semi-intransitive state men are predominantly illogical; in fanaticized consciousness the distortion of reason makes them irrational. (Freire, 1968, p. 20)

Polemics and emotional rhetoric are more evidence of this irrationality. In order to ensure that the oppressed will follow blindly rather than participating creatively in the transformation process, speeches replace discussion circles, and harangues replace dialogue.

Freire points to the prevalence of this attitude among "populist" leaders who appear to be genuinely revolutionary but who in fact seek to control and manipulate the revolution for their own ends.

> Since the populist leader simply manipulates, instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little if at all. (Freire, 1968, p. 147)

a. Naming: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

For the fanatic, the most crucial problem is the oppressor, the incarnation of evil, the enemy to be destroyed. Nothing good can be said about the oppressor. They are seen not as individuals equally victimized by the system, but as rather the demonic cause of oppression. Opposing the evil oppressor is the all-good "super-ethnic." Ethnic values of the oppressed

take precedence over any rational evaluation of the appropriateness of different values. "Typical" dress, traditional hair styles and common habits are idealizations through which the "super-ethnic" takes on concrete form.

b. Reflecting: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?

Genuine reflection is replaced by polemics and emotional rhetoric. Standard prescriptions are offered rather than critical analysis. Any understanding of the oppressor is unscientific and favors haranques which decry them and their class as evil. The "system" is naively understood as a deliberate instrument of the oppressor class, rather than the result of historical processes which hold both oppressor and oppressed captive. Indeed, the system is nothing more than a synonym for oppressor class.

The people are no more than spectators at the oppressor's destruction; a convenient justification for the leaders' own needs. Freire identifies this fanaticism with sectarianism.

> Sectarianism is predominantly emotional and uncritical. The sectarian wishes the people to be present at the historical process as activists, maneuvered by intoxicating propaganda. They are not supposed to think. Someone else will think for them; and it is as proteges, as children, that the sectarian sees them. (Freire, 1973, p. 11)

c. Acting: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Action is directed toward massification and toward de-

stroying the oppressor. Because the end is seen to justify the means, there is little time for dialogue with the oppressed. Charismatic leaders must arise who will lead the oppressed to victory. Domesticating leadership focuses on the oppressed individuals' inability to lead themselves. A new society is less important than the apocalypse which will purge and punish the oppressor. Participation must await liberation. Action is the imperative. Conflict with the oppressor is sought as the only solution; it is welcomed, hailed as the cleansing purge against evil.

> Disrespecting the choices of others, he [the sectarian] tries to impose his own choice on everyone else. Herein lies the inclination of the sectarian to activism; action without the vigilance of reflection; herein his taste for sloganizing, which generally remains at the level of myths and half-truths and attributes absolute value to the purely relative. (Freire, 1973, p. 11)

The sectarian, either of the right or the left, is doomed to failure because if they succeed at all, it is to replace one tyranny with another. For like the oppressor, they hate, they are trapped by their own contradictions, denied a genuine relationship with the oppressed by their own myths.

> Sectarians can never carry out a truly liberating revolution because they are themselves unfree. (Freire, 1973, p. 12)

The concern of the fanaticized individual is change, but not necessarily transformation. The processes are oppressive in that they lead the oppressed rather than work with the oppressed. The goal is to destroy the oppressor, which may result in their substitution by yet another oppressor.

The fanaticized individual is concerned with oppressive groups, not with norms, rules, regulations, but with the power individuals who make them. The oppressed are seen as children who must be led, not mature individuals capable of critical participation.

Conscientizacao Coding Categories Outline

Magical Consciousness

A. Naming

1. Problem Denial
   a. Overt denial
   b. Problem avoidance

2. Survival Problems
   a. Poor physical state/health
   b. Poverty
   c. Lack of work
   d. Insufficient work
   e. Money as end in itself

B. Reflecting

1. Simplistic Causal Relationships
   a. Blames physical state/health
   b. Blames objects over people

2. Facts Attributed to Superior Powers
   a. Uncontrollable factors: God/Fate/Luck/Age/etc.
   b. Fear of oppressor
   c. Oppressor as inevitable winner
   d. Empathy for oppressor

C. Acting

1. Fatalism
   a. Resignation
   b. Acceptance

2. Passively Playing Host to Oppressor
   a. Waiting for "good:" luck/patron
   b. Dependence on oppressor

Naive Consciousness

A. Naming

1. Oppressed Deviates from Ideal Expectations
   a. Oppressed not like oppressor/oppressed not meet oppressor's expectations
   b. Horizontal aggressiveness/intrapunitiveness

B. Reflecting

1. Blames Oppressed
   a. Accepts oppressor's expectations (education as end in itself)
   b. Self-peer deprecations
   c. Blames ancestors
   d. Self-pity

2. Understands How Individual Oppressor Violates Norms
   a. Sees intentionality by oppressor
   b. Sees relationships between oppressor/oppressor's agents
   c. Generalizes from one individual oppressor to another

C. Acting

1. Actively Playing Host to Oppressor (Collusion)
   a. Models oppressor's behavior (education, dress, habits)
   b. Misdirected aggression (horizontal aggression/ intrapunitiveness)
   c. Paternalistic towards peers
   d. Meets oppressor's expectations

2. Defending
   a. Gregariousness
   b. Makes system work
   c. Avoids oppressor
   d. Opposes individual oppressor
   e. Change environment

Critical Consciousness

A. Naming

1. Rejection of Oppressor Groups/Self-Peer Affirmation
   a. Rejects oppressor groups
   b. Seeks to maintain ethnicity
   c. Seeks to affirm uniqueness

2. Transform System
   a. Procedures--people
   b. Rejects oppressive system

B. Reflecting

1. Understands/Rejects Oppressors' Ideology and Their Collusion
   a. Sympathy/understanding of peers
   b. Self-critical/sees contradictions between actions and critical goals
   c. Rejects horizontal aggression/affirms self
   d. Sees oppressor as weak/victim of system
   e. Rejects oppressor/oppressor's ideology
   f. Generalizes from one oppressive group to another

2. Understands How System Works
   a. Sees system as cause
   b. Sees contradictions between rhetoric/results
   c. Macro-socio-economic analysis
   d. Generalizes from one oppressive system to another

C. Acting

1. Self-Actualizing
   a. Seeks appropriate role models
   b. Personal/ethnic self-esteem
   c. Self-growth/transforming learning
   d. Subject/actor
   e. Faith in peers/peer learning
   f. Boldness/risk-taking/unorthodox solutions
   g. Reliance on community resources/participation
   h. Opposes oppressor groups

2. Transforming the System
   a. Dialogue-polemics
   b. Comradeship
   c. Scientific approach
   d. Change norms/laws/procedures

Summary

Conscientizacao is a process of growth through three distinct but interrelated stages: magical, naive, and critical consciousness. Archetypical magical individuals conform to the oppressive situation in which they find themselves. They

define problems related to basic survival concerns and feel that these problems are governed by powers beyond their control. Their actions are divided between passive acceptance of events and active appeasement of the powers which they see as in control of their lives.

Ths naive level of consciousness, at which the oppressed individual desires to reform a basically sound system which has been corrupted by evil individuals who violate the system's norms and rules, is divided into two sublevels. (A): at the first sublevel, individuals blame themselves and their peers for the norm violations. They play host to the oppressor's beliefs by engaging in self-guilt and horizontal violence. Their actions are directed at changing themselves, becoming more like the oppressor: more education, more powerful, more white. (B): at the second sublevel, the oppressed individuals blame an individual oppressor, or a particular oppressor group, for the norm violations. They see how the oppressor's actions are harmful and intentional, but they attribute their cause to individual maliciousness. Their actions are directed at defending themselves from the consequences of this particular oppressor's violations.

Critically conscious individuals perceive the "system" as in need of transformation. No mere patching of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed will change the basic reality that the system, a coercive set of norms which govern both oppressed and oppressor, is the cause of oppression. The

process of transformation begins with a rejection, a casting out of the oppressor's ideology and leads to an increased sense of self-worth and peer power. Thought is scientific and extends beyond the immediate examples of oppression to the macro-socio-economic sphere where events are placed in a global context. Critical individuals begin a process of seeking new role-models, relying on self and community resources, boldness, risk-taking and independence of the oppressor. This new approach to problem-solving, an approach in which dialogue with peers replaces polemics, allows the oppressed individual to formulate actions from which true liberation, true transformation can result.

Fanaticized consciousness is an aberration, a distortion of true "C" growth which lies somewhere between the naive and critical stages of consciousness. Conceptually, it proposes an inevitable struggle between oppressor and oppressed; a struggle which relies for success on charismatic leaders who are idealized as the "super-ethnic" and who are justified in using any means to achieve their ends. Fanaticized consciousness may lead to the destruction of the oppressor, but it does so through massification, through the subjection of the oppressor by the oppressed and consequently is not a path toward true liberation.

A second distortion, or aberration, may occur between magical and naive consciousness. "Playing Host to the Oppressor" takes as the critical issue identification, modeling of

the oppressor. The modeling may be either passive, in which oppressed individuals rely upon the oppressor for decision and action, or active, in which the oppressed attempt to change themselves to be like the oppressor.

Part B

Conscientizacao as a Developmental Educational Theory

In an article entitled, "Development as the Aim of Education," Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer identify three basic streams of educational thought: "romanticism" which they identify with the work of Rousseau, and more recently, the free-school movement; "cultural transmission" which they associate with traditional academic education and with the Skinnerean behavioralism; and finally, "progressivism" which they exemplify through the developmental educational theories of Dewey and Piaget. During this process of comparison, Kohlberg/Mayer set out what they feel to be the basic characteristics of a developmental educational ideology. In this part of Chapter III, these characteristics will be compared with Freire's understanding of conscientizacao as outlined in both Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Education for Critical Consciousness. The purpose of this section will be to indicate how Freire's concept might correspond to the characteristics which Kohlberg and Mayer define as developmental, and as such may constitute a cohesive developmental theory. It is important to realize that this is a lens which the author is apply-

ing to Freire's work, and not one which Freire uses himself.

> A. Development is defined as "a progression through invariant ordered sequential stages. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 454)

Kohlberg and Mayer see specific developmental stages as a basic unit of a developmental theory. These stages, rather than the inner self of the romantics, or the environmental stimuli of the behaviorist, are the focus of educational activity. Each individual is confronted with the same developmental path, achievement is not always guaranteed, because development results from the interaction of external environment and inner understanding, but the stages do not vary.

Freire does not discuss stages directly. However, in certain passages, he suggests that his perception of human growth is dominated by movement through various stages or "themes" as he refers to them.

> An historical epoch is characterized by a series of aspirations, concerns, and values in search of fulfillment; by ways of being and behaving; by more or less generalize aptitudes. The concrete representations of many of these aspirations, concerns, and values as well as the obstacles to their fulfillment, constitute the themes of that epoch, which in turn indicate tasks to be carried out. (Freire, 1973, p. 5)

In this passage, Freire is talking of an historical period rather than the development of a single individual or group. Later, however, he relates these themes to the <u>levels of understanding</u> in the Brazilian people.

> Such an education would take into the most serious account the various levels at which the Brazilian people perceived their reality, as being of the greatest importance for the process of their humanization. Therein lay my own concern to analyze these histori-

> cally and culturally conditioned levels of understanding. (Freire, 1973, p. 17)

These levels are much closer to what Kohlberg and Mayer describe as stages. Freire suggests here that they are historically and culturally determined indicating that he feels that they are the result not only of the individual's inner self, but also of the world in which that individual finds himself, of the historical and cultural factors which that world has generated.

At another point, Freire says:

> The more accurately men grasp true causality, the more critical their understanding of reality will be. Their understanding will be magical to the degree that they fail to grasp causality. Further critical consciousness always submits that causality to analysis; what is true today may not be so tomorrow. Naive consciousness sees causality as a static, established fact, and thus is deceived in its perception. (Freire, 1973, p. 44)

Here Freire is defining the characteristic of specific levels or stages of consciousness. This passage suggests that Freire sees development in terms of sequential stages, magical, naive, critical. One does not begin as critical and become magical, nor move from magical to critical, nor move freely between the three stages. Development is a progression from magical to naive to critical, it is an emergence from temporality.

> Men exist in time. They are inside. They are outside. They inherit. They incorporate. They modify. Men are not imprisoned with 'today;' they emerge, and become temporalized. (Freire, 1973, p. 4)

> B. These different modes of thought form an invariant sequence, order, or succession in individual development. While cultural factors may speed up, slow down, or stop development, they do not change its sequence. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 458)

Once again, Freire does not address this question openly at any length. Rather, we must rely on implication and logical consistency. However, at one point, he comes very close to making a definite statement indicating that he feels that development is invariant and sequential. While discussing the development of the Brazilian consciousness, he says:

> While it would be impossible to return the emerging masses to their previous state of submersion, it might be possible to lead them to immobility and silence in the name of their own freedom. (Freire, 1973, p. 10)

This statement seems consistent with Kohlberg and Mayer's belief that cultural factors can slow down or stop development, but not take it backwards, even though Freire is referring to groups rather than individuals. They discuss, for example, the possibility that children may develop at different speeds and indeed may stop their development at a given stage before achieving the final stage of development. This sounds very much like what Freire calls "distortions," or "deflections."

> In the last analysis, retreats do not deter the transition. They do not constitute backward movement, although they can retard movement or <u>distort</u>* it. (Freire, 1973, p. 9)

> In short, naive transitive consciousness can evolve toward critical transitivity, characteristic of a legitimately democratic mentality, or it can be <u>deflected</u>*

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*Emphasis is author's.

> toward the debased, clearly dehumanized fanaticized consciousness characteristic of massification. (Freire, 1973, p. 9)

The important similarity between the Kohlberg/Mayer assertion and Freire is that the stages constitute an invariant sequence, capable of distortion, but ultimately inviolate.

> C. Each of these different and sequential modes of thought forms a "structural whole." (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 458)

Kohlberg and Mayer point out that the developmental stages are not superficial constructs related to maturation; they do not represent the "typical" behavior of a given age. Rather, they are structural wholes which define major conceptions of thought. They are a world view, a tool for understanding oneself and the world, and the interaction between self and world. Freire, when discussing the role of the extension agent, makes a very similar point.

> I said that education as a gnosiological condition means the problematicization of the content of which educator and educatee as Subjects in the process of knowing concentrate. The Subjects in the process of knowing, in their co-intentionality towards the object, penetrate it in search of its raison d'etre. And the object, in revealing itself to the Subjects, appears to them within a structural system in which it is in direct or indirect relation with another object. The object (which can be a problem-situation) initially "entered into" as if it were an isolated whole, "gives itself up" to the subject in the process of knowing as a "sub-whole" which in turn forms part of a greater totality. Step by step the Subjects in the process of knowing advance towards the union of the parts which make up the whole. . . . In a sense, any effort implies an effort towards totalization.* (Freire, 1973, p. 157)

Clearly, Freire is concerned with mental processes which con-

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*Emphasis placed by author.

stitute structural wholes, which do not divide the world into behavioral compartments, but rather see the mental process as a structural unit, held together by a common understanding.

> D. Cognitive stages are hierarchical integrations. Stages form an order of increasingly differentiated and integrated structures to fulfill a common function. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 458)

The states are not only sequential, they are hierarchical. Each state is superior to the previous one, and the final state of development represents the achievement of a higher goal. Superiority is based upon the fact that each stage is more differentiated and more integrated. Each state brings the individual closer to an understanding of how the world interacts with the self. If an individual at the magical level of consciousness is unable to perceive events as having causes outside of the supernatural, the critical individual sees the supernatural as only one possible factor related to causality. The critical individual has more conceptual options; they are more integrated with the world.

> The integrated person is person as Subject. In contrast, the adaptive person is person as object, adaptation representing at most a weak self-defense. If man is incapable of changing reality, he adjusts himself instead. Adaptation is behavior characteristic of the animal sphere; exhibited by man, it is symptomatic of his dehumanization. (Freire, 1973, p. 4)

Freire clearly accepts an hierarchical view of development. He sees that men move from "adaptation" to a higher, more human, level of integration where the person acts upon the world as well as being subjected to the world.

> E. Progressive ideology, in turn, rests on the value postulates of ethical liberalism. This position rejects traditional standards and value-relativism in favor of ethical universals. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 472)

Kohlberg and Mayer make an important point in discussing the value position of different educational ideologies. They reject value-relativism as a position based upon what they call the "naturalistic fallacy."

> As practiced by psychologists, the naturalistic fallacy is the direct derivation of statements about what human nature, human values, and human desires ought to be from the psychological statements about what they are. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 466)

This fallacy allows an educator to adopt the position of a value-free consultant. Their task is simply to help the "client" determine how to do, but not what to do. Educational goals are determined by statements of psychological fact. Because positive reinforcers exist, they are good. But Kohlberg and Mayer point out, "on what bases are they good?" What is the standard by which they are judged? Value-relativism furthermore defines the educator's task as the promotion of "cultural survival." That is, that a given culture has the right to survive, and it is the task of the educator to discover the means for that survival. Typically, this school of thought argues that cultural values are relative; there are no universal standards against which different cultures can be adjudicated. All values are equally valid because they are all derived from human cultures.

Developmentalists reject this position. They do not believe that all values are equally valid. An extreme example

offered by Kohlberg/Mayer is the Nazi culture. Does it have a right to survive? Are its values equally valid? Is slavery a cultural value which merits survival? Many have questioned modern North American values with their emphasis on materialism and commercialism.

The progressives, or developmentalists, focus on the universality of the developmental states. They argue that these stages are culture-free because they represent "developmentally advanced or mature stages of reasoning, judgment, and action." (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 475) It is good to promote development because each stage represents a higher human state, as Freire says conscientizacao promotes "humanization." These stages are invariant and are validated not only by psychological investigation, but by philosophical enquiry as well. They constitute rational ethical principles. As Kohlberg and Mayer state:

> This implies an internal standard of adequacy governing development; it implies that development is not just any behavior change, but a change toward greater differentiation, integration, and adaptation. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 483)

Freire puts it this way:

> One of the basic preoccupations must be the greater penetration of the "prise de conscience" which operates in human beings when they act and when they work. . . . If the prise de conscience goes beyond the mere apprehension of the presence of a fact, and places it critically in the system of relationships within the totality in which it exists, it transcends itself, deepens, and becomes conscientization. (Freire, 1973, p. 148)

This deepening toward a universal goal, this internal standard which is cross-cultural seems to suggest that education should

be channeled toward development of these universal characteristics. Must education then become doctrinaire, must it impose developmental growth, is its task to dictate? Both Freire and Kohlberg/Mayer are clear on this point.

> F. . . . mature thought emerges through a process that is neither direct biological maturization nor direct learning, but rather a reorganization of psychological structures resulting from organism-environment interaction. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 457)

To this point, Freire speaks loudly and clearly. He says over and over again that understanding results from an interaction of the individual with the world around them.

> Idealism errs in affirming that ideas which are separate from reality govern the historical process. So does the mechanistic objectivism which transforms human beings into abstractions and denies them their presence as beings of decision in historical transformation. (Freire, 1973, p. 146)

> Education as the practice of freedom--as opposed to education as the practice of domination--denies that man is abstract, isolated, independent and unattached to the world; it also denies that the world exists as a reality apart from men. Authentic reflection considers neither abstract man nor the world without men, but men in their relations with the world. In these relations, consciousness and world are simultaneous: consciousness neither preceeded the world nor follows it. (Freire, 1968, p. 69)

Both Freire and Kohlberg/Mayer contrast their views with those views of the romantics (idealism in Freire's vocabulary) and the behaviorialists (mechanical objectivism in Freire's vocabulary). For the romantics, it is the inner self, that private, personal, individual seed planted in each person which must be allowed to flourish. The world is no more than a pot into which the seed is planted. The behavioralists see

the world as a set of stimuli, and the individual a machine which responds to those stimuli. Education is the search for appropriate stimuli to produce the appropriate response. Kohlberg/Mayer and Freire see development in terms of progression through a series of hierarchical stages, and believe that growth is an interaction between the external world and the internal self. It is a dialectical relationship which confronts the individual with the world.

> In the progressive view, this aim requires an educational environment that actively stimulates development through the presentation of resolvable but genuine problems or conflicts. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 454)

> The cognitive-developmental metaphor is not material, it is dialectical; it is a model of the progression of ideas in discourse and conversation. In the dialectic metaphor, a core of universal ideas are redefined and reorganized as their implications are played out in experience and as they are confronted by their opposites in argument and discourse. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 456)

The core of Freire's educational method is dialogue. It is often referred to by that name. In this sense, his educational ideology can most clearly be identified as developmental.

> Authentic education is not carried on by 'A' for 'B' or by 'A' about 'B,' but rather by 'A' with 'B,' mediated by the world--a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it. (Freire, 1968, p. 83)

> Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. (Freire, 1968, p. 76)

The process which Freire describes as dialogical is necessarily non-doctrinaire. It does not impose the world on an individual,

but is rather a process through which two or more individuals seek the world. The educator's task is to pose questions, to confront the world, not to provide answers or define the world. Kohlberg and Mayer put it this way:

> Reference to such principles (scientific inquiry) is non-indoctrinative if these principles are not presented as formulae to be learned ready-made or as rote patterns grounded in authority. Rather, they are part of a process of reflection by the student and teacher. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 475)

> G. Morality is neither the internalization of established cultural values nor the unfolding of spontaneous impulses and emotions; it is justice, the reciprocity between the individual and others in his social environment. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 455)

One goal of education is justice. Justice is derived as much from the fact that the developmental stages constitute a universal standard against which to value human existence, as it does from the dialogical process through which this growth takes place. Consequently, it is <u>just</u> to promote developmental growth toward self-actualization, integration, and/or <u>conscientizacao</u> and it is <u>unjust</u> to hinder that growth.

> But while both humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is man's vocation. This vocation is constantly negated, yet it is affirmed by that very negation. It is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity. (Freire, 1968, p. 28)

This does not mean that certain principles of justice are formulated and then transferred to the young, nor does it mean that the individual is allowed to unfold an inner self which contains prepackaged principles of justice. Justice is a pro-

cess which is lived, not a commodity which is traded.

> This then is why I say that "education as the practice of freedom" is not the transfer, or transmission of knowledge of cultures. Nor is it the extension of technical knowledge. It is not the act of depositing reports or 'acts in the educatee. It is not the 'perpetuation of the values of a given culture.' It is not 'an attempt to adapt the educatee to the milieu.' I see 'education as the practice of freedom' above all a truly gnosiological situation. (ECC, p. 149)

> The liberal school recognizes that ethical principles determine the ends as well as the means of education. Not only are the rights of the child to be respected by the teacher, but the child's development is to be stimulated so that he may come to respect and defend his own rights and the rights of others. (Kohlberg/ Mayer, p. 473)

Summary

One conceptual lens which can be applied to conscientizacao, as described by Freire, is structural developmentalism. This lens focuses on the existence of three distinct conceptual stages: magical, naive and critical consciousness. Each stage is consequently conceived as a structural whole. They represent internally consistent perspectives which influence how individuals perceive themselves, the world, and their interaction in the world, particularly as related to socio-political events. Magical, naive, and critical are names given to the complex and profound interrelationship of how an individual names, understands and acts upon the world. Using this lens, Freire's stages are also sequential and hierarchical. Individuals are not free to move at will between stages, but rather follow a definite growth pattern which leads from magical through naive, to critical consciousness. While

all individuals may not achieve critical consciousness, while some may remain at either magical or naive levels of consciousness, once a level is achieved, it is assumed that individuals cannot return to previous levels. The sequence is also universal for all individuals and the order not dependent upon cultural or personality factors. While culture and individual personality may influence how rapidly growth from one stage to another takes place, it cannot alter the pattern or sequence of growth.

Each stage in the sequence is also hierarchical. Critical consciousness is more differentiated and integrated than magical. On this basis, it is legitimate to suggest that critical consciousness represents a higher or "better" stage of consciousness. By adopting this position, Freire is demonstrating a moral position which appears similar to that defined by Kohlberg and Mayer as represented in ethical universals and, in turn, rejecting a position of value relativism. If stages are hierarchical and universal, they should constitute an inner standard of good, a natural goal towards which individuals can proceed.

Growth from one stage to another occurs as an individual comes in contact with the world. Developmental education's task is to bring the individual in contact with the world in a critical way. Its task is to pose problems, not to provide answers. It is dialogical in that it promotes a horizontal relationship between individuals involved in an-

swering the questions posed. In this way, Freire avoids transforming the hierarchical stages of consciousness into a doctrinaire educational process. Developmental growth, unlike information-transfer or habit formation, is not a function of rote-memorization or stimuli-response, but rather a conceptual negotiation between individual understanding and the world. Individuals come to understand the world and themselves more completely because each new question leads to a more differentiated and integrated answer. The goal of this process is justice, a relationship between individuals within the world, in which they are not hindered in their pursuit of the developmental goal.

The lens of structural developmentalism is not one which Freire applies to his own work. As one way of conceiving of conscientizacao, it is fought with weaknesses. Consciousness, for example, may be situational rather than sequential and hierarchical. Individuals may demonstrate magical consciousness in one situation (the marriage context). It may be possible for individuals, even within the same situational context, to regress to a previous stage, thereby contradicting the hierarchical nature of stages as described by Kohlberg/Mayer. Care should be taken in applying the Kohlberg/Mayer criterion to Freire. The value of that criterion lies more in the questions it raises, than in the answers it provides.

C H A P T E R I V

THE VALIDATION PROCESS

Overview

Is the "C" code an accurate predictor of real-life behavior? Is it capable of distinguishing between the thought samples of two groups of individuals which have demonstrated significantly different socio-political behavior? Will the factors distinguished by the code correlate positively with the distinction made by the socio-political criteria? If so, then one indication that the verbal code can predict non-verbal behavior exists. The coding categories and the definitions of consciousness levels would then be related in a positive way to real-life behavior. This is the task which the validation process addresses.

In order to establish initial validity given the relatively modest resources available, the following experimental design was developed. Stage criteria were developed which relied on factors other than verbal behavior, such as job status, economic success, formal schooling, language, social mobility, and demonstrated aggressiveness. Importance was attached to criteria which distinguish between individuals with relatively similar socio-economic backgrounds, as it was necessary to use the same protocol collection instrument on both groups.

As it was highly unlikely that the author would be able to identify in Ecuador a sufficiently large number of critical-level individuals with the same socio-economic background as magical-level individuals, it was decided to develop non-verbal stage criteria which distinguished between magical and naive level individuals.

Two groups of individuals then were selected: one group of eight which the non-verbal criteria predicted were magical, and one group of nine which it predicted were naive. These two groups were each given the protocol collection instrument using tape-recorded individual interviews. The interviews were conducted in the language with which the individual felt most comfortable, either Spanish or Quechua. The tape recordings were later transcribed and translated, when necessary, into Spanish. The transcriptions were then reviewed in detail by members of the respondent's culture-group to insure that they were accurate representations of what the respondents were saying. The transcriptions were then coded and the coding results translated into specific coding scores for each individual.

The scores of the two groups were analyzed statistically using the Mann Whitney U Test. The results of this statistical analysis are presented in detail in this chapter. They indicate a highly significant difference between the two groups. What follows is a detailed explanation of the process described briefly in this overview.

Selection of Magical and Naive Groups

Why Magical and Naive Groups?

The author wished to build upon his experience in Ecuador in determining the criteria for selecting two different experimental groups. Because his work with the nonformal education project had been principally with rural individuals, it was convenient that the rural population be the focus for group selection. Without making any cultural generalizations, it was felt that the difficulty of identifying a sufficiently large number of critical individuals among the Ecuadorian rural population was so great that the emphasis should be on magical and naive level criteria. The author was sure that identifying 8-10 magical and naive level individuals would be relatively simple. This is not intended to mean that there are no critical-level rural individuals in Ecuador. In fact, there may be many. But given the present socio-political climate these individuals are particularly reluctant to participate in the kind of experience which the coding process demands; namely, tape-recorded interviews. In the author's experience, these individuals typically were reluctant to be identified; they prefer to remain politically invisible, and it would have been both unreliable and unethical to insist upon their participation. Consequently, the focus was on the differences between magical and naive, rather than magical and critical individuals. In fact, differentiating between two

adjacent stages may indicate strength in the measure.

Non-verbal Magical and Naive Criteria

Theoretically, magical level individuals conform. They accept life as it is given to them. They have the lowest level of economic rewards, as well as occupying the lowest level on the social ladder. More importantly, they do not seek social mobility, nor do they demonstrate aggressiveness. They maintain their ethnic dress and habits, not out of a genuine self-affirmation, but rather because they consider themselves incapable of giving them up. They accept without overt opposition their identification as poor, stupid, and dirty. They are generally religious, participating in traditional rites of an institutionalized church which offers salvation in the future and perseverance in the present.

Theoretically, naive individuals reform. They try to become successful in generally accepted social terms. They seek education for itself. They give up traditional dress and habits and try to physically look like the oppressor. They tend to seek new religious alternatives, churches which offer a doctrine of success now as well as in the future life, or they reject the fatalistic attitudes of the traditional religion. They look for jobs which will give them responsibility and status in the oppressor's eyes. They seek positions of community leadership and perform their leadership role in a paternalistic manner, modeling the oppressor's behavior. They

tend to be aggressive in seeking success, but their relationship with "evil" oppressors is defensive. They strike out against "evil" individuals, particularly peer members who violate the oppressor's norms.

In establishing criteria for selecting the magical and naive groups, it was important to rely on non-verbal characteristics. Verbal characteristics would have been, in a sense, "coding" the individuals before coding them. (If, for example, a coding candidate were selected on the basis of having said, "God controls our lives.") This, in fact, is a coding category. We would then be relating verbal behavior with verbal behavior, and still not know if that verbal behavior reflected other, more significant behavior, such as the job status, the amount of vertical aggressiveness* demonstrated, or the degree of economic success. What we were interested in was how individuals act upon their world as compared with how they understand and name their world. The following non-verbal behavioral criteria were isolated as being particularly important in distinguishing between potential magical and naive individuals in rural Ecuador.

Employment. The single most important variable isolated was the nature of the individual's employment. Employment is generally an area in which an individual has some choice, even though powerful social and economic forces oper-

*Aggressiveness against a superior role status person by an inferior role status person.

ate in an oppressive situation to restrict job-opportunities. An indian in Ecuador, for example; is given few, if any, educational opportunities, and job mobility is tied to educational achievement. Because indian communities are relatively closed social systems, even apprenticeship, vocational jobs are very scarce. Consequently, an un-schooled indian youth is left with few real alternatives.

Ecuador's marketplaces are filled with cargadores, or carriers, whose function it is to transport the heavy loads of food goods from trucks to sellers, and from the sellers to the cars or homes of the buyers. For this service, they are paid a small amount of money and are generally at the mercy of the client as there are no fixed prices for such services. Loads vary from several pounds to over a hundred pounds. This is one of the lowest status jobs in Ecuador and one which incurs a high degree of physical and emotional abuse. In addition to being called names and being kicked or otherwise physically mistreated, cargadores have to leave their communities, often live many hours from their homes, sleep in the open, eat whatever is available, or not at all. Cargadores almost always accept these conditions with little or no overt resistance.

What is important here is the willingness of the individual to absorb and accept the abuse which being a cargador necessarily entails. While there are real financial rewards relative to the income of a rural indian being a cargador,

being a cargador incurs significantly more physical and emotional abuse than any other indian job other than work on a traditionally-operated hacienda where the indian would be subjected to almost complete control. The fact that an indian works as a cargador indicates that they are willing to tolerate overt oppressive conditions. It is a job which requires acceptance, which demands a fatalistic resignation to the world as it is.

If it could be shown that the economic benefits of this work were used as investments in the future, then an argument could be made that in fact the cargador is tolerating a temporary situation in order to achieve a long-range benefit. The author's experience has indicated that the contrary is true. Most cargadores are forced into carrying by the fact that there is simply no way for them to support their families on the small piece of land which they are given.

Secondly, the land reform system, by making indian labor relatively expensive to the large landowner, has stimulated the landowners to farm less land, thus offering less jobs for indian labor. Thirdly, indians are motivated, through the system of prioste, to spend large amounts of money on religious fiestas. Much of this money comes from the work of cargadores. While a few cargadores do manage to save some of their carrying income, most is spent within a few weeks of their return to the community in totally subsistence-oriented

activities.

As such, it is clear that the indian cargador is accepting a situation of physical and emotional oppression in order to avoid starvation and social ostracism. The individual is dominated by survival needs and willing to sacrifice dignity to meet those needs. This is an accurate behavioral description of a magical level individual.

There are individuals, however, who have been able to escape this oppressive environment. For a variety of reasons, some individuals have been able to take advantage of the limited educational opportunities available, and they have been able to seek jobs which offer them alternatives to overt oppression. Most of these individuals have sought to own and farm their own land. Land ownership is one of the most basic ways in which an indian can become like the white man.

Traditionally, the white landowner controlled all of the resources, set the standards by which all should live, and held the power. To own land, and enough land in order to support one's family, is a way of sharing power. The agrarian reform system in Ecuador, while giving some land to many rural families, usually gave either such poor land, or so little land, that it was economically unviable.

Campesino ownership of an economically productive piece of land is an indication of increased status and independence. This independence, while it carries with it a number of oppressive conditions--unfair pricing and even physical

abuse--constitutes a significantly different condition than that of the cargador. Emotionally, the campesino landowner is free. The bulk of his experience is a fight against nature, not against human abuse. His community holds him in esteem, and even the white community holds a minimal level of respect for him.

The government, through Ministry of Agriculture programs, dedicates a good deal of its resources and rhetoric for his benefit. If he does not always receive concrete benefits, he is at least led to believe that he is important. While the lot of the cargador is resignation in the face of oppression, the independent farmer's is modeling the oppressor's achievements.

Economic success. In a semi-feudal capitalist economy such as Ecuador's, the degree of individual economic success is a good indicator of the degree of oppression. The poorer the individuals, the more oppressed they tend to be. Semi-feudal/capitalist values are translated into monetary terms. While there may exist isolated groups which challenge this equation, the bulk of the population is subjected to its consequences. Then to say that poor people in a semi-feudal/capitalist system are typically the most oppressed is a reasonable position. Economically, successful people are those who have either received great wealth as an inheritance, or those who model the system's norms, procedures, policies, and values. The reverse, it should be pointed out, is not always

the case. That is, individuals who follow the system's norms are not always economically successful.

A word about economic success is warranted here. Within the context of rural Ecuador, we are not referring to the American dream of everyone becoming a millionaire, but rather simply to the satisfaction of survival needs with a little left over. Naive level rural individuals would tend to be in a position to satisfy survival needs and be able to invest in perhaps a radio, a watch, a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of pants, and a jacket rather than a poncho. They might invest in chemical fertilizers, or use insecticides. They would probably own a house with a tile, rather than thatched roof, and the house would likely have at least one window.

The magical level rural individual would be in poverty relative to other sectors of the rural population. The house would be thatched and have no windows. There would be no radio or a watch or a pair of shoes. They would plow the land by hand, not using an ox or any mechanical device. Natural fertilizer might be used, but chemical fertilizer would be too expensive. Clothing would be traditional, relying on ponchos and heavy woolen skirts for warmth. These conditions constitute physical ways which potential magical and naive level individuals could be identified.

Language. Magical individuals in a bi-lingual culture in which one of the two languages is associated with lower

role status individuals would speak principally the language of the lower role status. Few magical individuals would be able to speak the superior role language, and if they did, they would speak it with an accent or in a distinguishable fashion. Naive level individuals would be able to speak the language of the superior role individuals, although they might also be able to speak the inferior role language. They would, however, prefer to speak the superior role language, particularly around a superior role individual. This is one way in which the inferior role individual tries to imitate the superior role individual. The most important factor here is the pride with which the inferior role individual speaks the superior role language and the force with which they attempt to avoid and reject the inferior role language. In Ecuador, Quechua is an inferior role language. Magical level individuals would tend to speak Quechua, and perhaps a little Spanish; naive level individuals would tend to speak Spanish well, and resist speaking, or not be able to speak, Quechua.

Schooling. Schooling as it exists in Ecuador is one of the most efficient instruments for modeling the behavior of a superior role status individual. Schools commonly transfer the values and norms of the superior role culture, while rejecting the values and norms of the inferior role culture. Inferior role individuals who have not attended school are denied, on the one hand, any opportunity for social mobility, and on the other, are freed, at least to a degree, from its

modeling aspects. Individuals who have attended school tend to model the oppressor's behavior, at least as it is expressed in ideal form: cleanliness, dressing in western clothes, cutting the traditional braid of hair, wearing shoes, reading and writing in Spanish, discipline and respect for authorities, competitiveness, and a sense of self-esteem which makes them feel superior to their ethnic peers who have not gone to school.

Schooling also opens up job positions and social relationships with the superior role culture previously denied them. For example, a policeman must have eight years of schooling.* Most policemen in the country come from inferior role groups, although most come from urban rather than rural groups. A rural youth with a primary education (less than 10% of the rural population)* is stimulated to go to the city and find work. In the city, they become more and more involved in the superior role culture. Schooling provides another non-verbal measure of magical-naive level differences.

Community leadership. Magical individuals would tend to be passive in community affairs. Their outlook would lead them to the conclusions that little can be done in the face of overwhelming forces, and that "I" am certainly not the one who can do it. Their participation in community affairs would be low, and their leadership experience would be non-existent.

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*See Ecuadorian National Congress, Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, 1974.

They would be, in a word, followers. Naive level individuals, however, would be community leaders. Because they attempt to model the oppressor or attempt to defend themselves from the affects of an individual evil oppressor, they would see community leadership as a means to achieve these ends. Their leadership style would be paternalistic, modeling the oppressor's leadership style. They would tend to reject opposition from the community, and expect personal loyalty and gratitude; essentially, what the oppressor expects from the oppressed. They would tend to make decisions, perhaps among a small group of associates, and then try to impose them on the community. In this sense, leadership is an important indicator of consciousness level.

Overt aggressiveness or fear. Magical level individuals would be fearful. They would avoid unusual contacts with the oppressor or with agents and demonstrate humility when faced with the oppressor. They would be suspicious of novelty; while they might try to avoid "getting involved," they would not resist overt pressure from a superior role source. They would conform, rather than resist. Even among groups of peers, they would avoid involvement, playing a passive role, doing what they were told, or doing what they were accustomed to doing.

Naive individuals would be aggressive in peer groups and defensive in oppressor groups. They would speak out, organize, take part, lead when among peers. But when they were

with oppressors, they would be less aggressive, even though they would avoid humility. They would be responsive to the oppressor's behavior. If the oppressor made them feel comfortable, they would be attentive, trying to learn from their contacts with him. If the oppressor demonstrated hostility, they would be wary, trying to change themselves so he would treat them well, or try to defend themselves from the consequences of his actions. They would not demonstrate either open fear nor open humility. Where the magical individual would be fearful and passive, the naive individual would be attentive and actively defensive.

Characteristics of the Magical and Naive Groups Selected

A description of the respondents who participated in the validation process follows. The attempt was to select individuals who came as close to the non-verbal criteria as possible and then to divide them into two groups, one which was referred to as magical and the other as naive.

The magical group was selected at random from a group of cargadores who work in Quito. Cargadores were selected because it was felt that they would most easily fulfill a variety of the criteria which was needed for a magical group, and most importantly, that they met the employment-related criterion. They were interviewed informally after the protocol collection process so as not to give any clues about the goals of the collection process before collecting the protocols. On the

basis of those interviews, the information concerning the non-verbal criteria was collected.

The naive group was selected from among the Nonformal Project trainees, or facilitators. While they had been exposed to the Project's values and behaviors, they had not been exposed to the vocabulary of the coding system, nor to any of the coding or protocol collection instruments. Naive level respondents were selected from a group of individuals with which the Project was familiar, because it was impossible to identify a single profession which correlated reliably with naive consciousness. These facilitators were selected on the basis of their proven leadership ability, and largely because they had demonstrated some indications of paternalistic leadership, which was considered important to the naive level criteria. Most important, however, was that they came from the same general sub-culture as the magical respondents, but were all landowners, small business wo/men, or certified teachers.

Employment.

Magical individuals: all magical individuals were cargadores. Five had worked as cargadores sporadically for more than three years. Three were new cargadores. All were male.

Naive individuals: all but two were farmers, who owned land. In all cases, the land provided sufficient income to meet subsistence needs, plus a small surplus. The two others

were women who had jobs in their communities as either teacher or seamstress.

Economic success.

Magical individuals: all would be considered at a poverty level relative to the general Ecuadorian population. One individual had a radio. Three had shoes. None had a watch. All but one wore ponchos instead of a cloth jacket. All lived in thatched homes with no windows. All were part-time farmers, but none had used fertilizer or insecticides. None owned enough land to support their families.

Naive individuals: seven individuals had a radio. Six individuals had a watch. All wore shoes. All dressed in western clothes, the women used ponchos, but ponchos which were used by "white" rather than indian women. All lived in tile-roofed houses with windows. Several lived in houses with cement floors and a kerosene stove. They were all respected in their respective communities for having achieved a relatively high level of economic success.

Language.

Magical individuals: all spoke Quechua better than Spanish. One individual spoke Spanish well. Two individuals spoke broken Spanish. Four individuals understood some Spanish, but spoke very little. Three individuals understood very little Spanish.

Naive individuals: all individuals spoke Spanish well. One individual spoke Quechua better than he spoke Spanish.

Five individuals spoke Quechua as well as Spanish. Four individuals spoke no Quechua (they were mestizos who came from communities where no Quechua was spoken). All were interviewed in Spanish.

Schooling.

Magical individuals: only two individuals had attended school at all, finishing second grade. None could write and only two were able to recognize which was the "up" side of a written page.

Naive individuals: all could read and write in Spanish. Three individuals' vocabulary was limited, the rest wrote with minor difficulty. Six had completed fourth grade, three had completed third grade.

Community leadership.

Magical individuals: none had held any position of community leadership. Two had participated as workers in community-oriented work projects. One individual demonstrated leadership abilities among the group of cargadores.

Naive individuals: all had held leadership positions in their communities. All had worked actively in community-oriented work projects. All demonstrated paternalistic leadership behavior, although the effect of the Project had reduced this behavior to some degree. All tended to have a group of loyal friends who supported them in proposals made to the general community.

Aggression/fear.

Magical individuals: when first offered the opportunity to earn more than a normal day's wages playing some games, they refused categorically. It took more than a half hour to convince them to participate. They demonstrated fear and avoidance behavior when the opportunity was offered to them. At the insistence of the trainer, they agreed to participate. When shaking hands, they covered their hands with their ponchos as a sign of respect for the white person with whom they were shaking hands.

Naive individuals: they demonstrated curiosity when told about the taping session and did not seem to be afraid. They were very open about speaking into the microphones and were aggressive in answering the questions. They had all demonstrated aggressiveness and honesty with the interviewers previously in contact both inside and outside their communities. None covered their hand when they shook hands and all looked superior role individuals directly in the face when talking to them.

The Protocol Collection Process

This section describes the process which was used to collect the protocols from the magical and naive level indivi-

duals. The attempt was to make the collection process as parallel as possible so as to reduce the effects of any extraneous factors on the coding results. The word "group" has been used to describe the magical and naive level individuals. In fact, the interviews were conducted on an individual basis. The individuals were brought together as a group so that they would feel more secure and less anxious about the taping experience. While an interview was being conducted, the rest of the individuals were involved in unrelated educational tasks such as game playing and singing.

The magical group was interviewed first, one month prior to the interviews of the naive group. The groups had no contact with each other before the protocol collection process. There were originally nine individuals interviewed in the magical group, but one interview had to be disregarded for coding purposes because it was clear that the question of visual literacy, already discussed, made it impossible for the individual to respond to the questions. There were nine naive level individuals interviewed and all nine interviews were coded.

First Contact and Perceptual Set

Magical group. The magical group was picked up at a local market in Quito where they were working as cargadores. They had been contacted the day before by a Quechua-speaking member of the Project staff who had explained that they were

being asked to help develop educational materials for the rural areas of the country. The staff explained that the Project needed the opinion of people who lived in rural areas. Several individuals flatly refused to go. There was some discussion among themselves that they would never be brought back to the market, insinuating that they would be used as slave labor. Several individuals seemed willing to go when they heard that they would earn what they could normally expect to make during a day and that they could keep copies of the materials. After about an hour, a group of ten agreed to be available the next day. On the actual coding day, ten showed up, but one was a minor, under 12 years of age, and he was not interviewed.

Naive group. The naive group was composed entirely of facilitators previously trained by the Nonformal Project. They had been selected to participate in the design of a follow-up workshop for all the facilitators trained by the Massachusetts Nonformal Project. They were from both the coastal and sierra Facilitator Projects, and several members were unknown to the group. They were told nothing about the interviews until they came to the seminar site. The first day of the seminar, it was explained to them that the Project wanted their opinions about some drawings which were going to be used in future training courses. They would be asked a set of questions about each drawing and their responses would be tape recorded. All of the facilitators were familiar with tape recorders and

seemed willing to go through with the experience. There was some nervousness expressed when they found out that the interviews would be individual, rather than group. This was the first time that an individual experience had been included in one of their training seminars. Once the first two facilitators had returned from the taping sessions, everyone seemed at ease and individuals moved freely to take their turn.

The Setting

Magical group. The magical group met in the Project office, an expensive, private house in a part of Quito unfamiliar to them. This was definitely a strange environment and one which they associated with superior role individuals. They were surprised to see photographs of indians like themselves on the wall, and one cargador recognized one of the individuals in a photograph as being from his community. They were shown around the entire house, and the Project was explained to them in very general terms. They were all asked to meet in the front room where they were given a math bingo game to play. They seemed to enjoy the game and wanted to continue playing. Play went very slowly as it was clear that some individuals could not recognize numbers, much less add or multiply.

Once the game had been played several times, a tape recorder was brought out and the group as a whole sang a song. The song was tape recorded and then played back so they could

hear themselves. Many had never seen a tape recorder before and were anxious to actually touch it and make it work. This was done in a group so that they would have a chance to share their feelings about the tape recorder before actually being recorded.

They were then told that they would be shown a series of drawings and asked a few questions about each drawing. The purported purpose was to get their opinions about the drawings and to see if people in their communities might like them or not. They were told that their responses would be tape recorded so that we could listen to them later and not make any mistakes in understanding what they said. None of the cargadores asked any questions. A few individuals seemed to be nervous, most did not seem to understand, even though all of this explanation was done in Quechua. They were told that two rooms had been set aside in the back of the house where the conversation would be tape recorded.

Naive group. The naive group met in the Hotel Holiday a few minutes outside Quito. For some individuals, this was their first time in Quito. The Hotel Holiday is used by a number of middle- and upper-class social groups for weekend retreats and conferences. It was a unique and luxurious surrounding for most of the facilitators. In this sense, it corresponded closely to the experience of the cargadores in the Project office. Once that the group was settled in and after the morning get-acquainted exercises had taken place, the group

was told about the taping sessions. They were not shown the tape recorders until they went into the taping rooms.

The Interviewers

The interview process was absolutely identical for both groups. The only difference was that the magical group was allowed to play with and become accustomed to the tape recorders as a group, while the naive group were given the same opportunity individually before beginning the interview.

The interview itself was based around five drawings. The same order was used for all interviews. Pictures were numbered so that the interviewer would not become confused. The actual size of the drawings was 50 X 30 centimenters. They were black and white xerox copies. They had previously been tested to insure that they were visually distinguishable by rural Ecuadorians.

The interview questions were standard for each drawing. Interviewers were careful only to repeat questions but not to provide any additional information to the interviewees. If a question was followed by silence, the interviewer repeated the question and would sometimes rephrase it with a very slight difference. If there was still no response, the interviewer went on to the next question. The questions were posed in the following order:

1. What is happening in this picture?
   What do you see in this picture?
   Who are these people?

2. Do they have any problems?
   What problems do they have?

3. Why do they have these problems?

4. What can they do to solve these problems?
   What can they do about the problems?

The first drawing was considered to be an introductory "warm-up." Interviewers were much freer in their questioning of this first drawing to "teach" the individual what was being asked of them. This kind of interview was very alien to all the participants. Several participants tried to engage the interviewers in the process, asking them what they felt, or beginning a long story about a common friend. By only asking questions, this warm-up proved important in breaking down the expectations which several participants had about engaging in an open conversation. For this reason, the first picture was never used for coding purposes, only the last four picture-responses were coded.

All interviews were tape recorded. Care was taken that the tape did not have to be changed in the middle of an interview. Interviews with the magical level group were generally very short. All five pictures were typically discussed in less than ten minutes per individual. The naive group took longer, some interviews lasting twenty or thirty minutes.

The Interviewers

The interviewers were initially the same individuals for both magical and naive groups. One interviewer spoke

limited Quechua and after it became clear that she would be unable to adequately interview the magical group she asked to be relieved. Consequently, the other two interviewers interviewed members of the magical group. All three interviewed members of the naive group. One interviewer learned Quechua as a child and is a native of the same province as the cargadores. Another is an Ecuadorian indian and a native Quechua speaker. Even though his native Quechua is slightly different from that spoken in the cargadores' province, he has been working for over three years in that province and was very comfortable with local differences. The third interviewer had been working for two years with the Project evaluation section and was a native of the cargadores province. She understood considerable Quechua but spoke very little. The interviewers were all friends of the naive group, and each maintained a positive relationship with them.

The interviewers had been given a two-day training program to prepare them for the taping experience. They had been exposed to the theoretical background of the coding process and understood the importance of not influencing responses. They had not seen specific coding categories, however, until after the interviews, as it was felt such knowledge might influence their interviews. They each had the opportunity to practice using all the drawings and receiving feedback on their performance before the taping sessions. They were all familiar with campesino mentality and had had extensive experience work-

ing in the rural areas of the country. The author personally supervised their training and was very satisfied with their performance. Even though this highly structured interview format represented a new and somewhat alienating interaction style for them, they were responsible and capable in carrying it out.

Post Interview Process

The Nonformal Project staff had rejected any kind of evaluation instrument or process which did not have a direct or immediate benefit for those who were being tested. There was a profound distaste for evaluation schemes which utilized rural people but which did not benefit them. For this reason, the post interview process did not contribute in any way to the coding results of the interviews, the process was essential to the ethical integrity of the evaluators.

The initial desire was to share with the respondents the results of the coding process: to allow them to see themselves as they were being seen by others. But this presented a series of problems, particularly with the magical group. It became clear to the evaluators during the interviews that it was impossible to simply share feelings with them. First, "feelings" were not clearly conceptualized and secondly, they would have been too threatening. It should be pointed out here that the interview process was particularly dramatic for two of the interviewers who came to see in a very objective

way the degree of oppression in which these individuals were living. While the Nonformal Project rhetoric has recognized oppression as a reality, and while the interviewers had both personally suffered its consequences, they were shocked by the passivity, the acceptance, and the general lack of understanding which the cargadores demonstrated. Many weeks passed before they were able to process those feelings. Sharing these processed feelings would have meant bringing the cargadores together again at a later date. Practically, this was very difficult. Many members of the group were ready to return to their communities. Others had commitments which had to be fulfilled. Others simply did not want to come back for reasons not clear to the author.

The evaluators were still unwilling, however, to let the cargadores simply "be used." It was decided as an alternative, to operate a two-day workshop for the cargadores after the taping experience. During the workshop, they would be exposed to a variety of educational materials which the Project had developed, many of which involved the growth of consciousness. They were shown how to use these materials and given copies of them. They were told about a new concept of education, one which relied on mutual sharing, rather than on vertical imposition. And most importantly, several of the concepts which they expressed during the interviews were discussed critically with them, particularly their feeling that they had no control over their own lives. They were given the

names of several campesino leaders in the province and Moreno as a permanent contact. In this way, it was hoped to share with them a little of the understanding being taken from them.

The naive group presented a somewhat different problem. Because all had worked with the Project before, they already knew about the basic educational premises upon which it was based. The information which was gathered from the interviews was used to help them develop a less paternalistic leadership style. As they had been brought together to design a sharing seminar for other facilitators, this was an excellent opportunity to critically confront a series of issues related to leadership. They were presented with their own statements and beliefs and most individuals came to see the paternalistic nature of these statements. The conference which they designed and directed was impressive. They overcame first, their dependence on the Project staff and took the major role in the conference's operation. Secondly, they actively involved the other facilitators to such a degree that it was difficult to tell who had been part of the planning group and who were purely participants.

In both cases, the post-interview process took enormous energy and especially in the case of the naive group, extensive time. If we were to maintain an ethical commitment to new groups, it would mean additional time and energy. As this coding process was considered to be only a small part of the Project's overall task, it was considered illegitimate to divert

even more resources to the code's development. This, in large part, explains why the sample size was so small.

Transcription, Translation, and Coding

Once the interviews had been taped, a bi-lingual member of the Project staff translated the Quechua tapes into Spanish. The translation was done by an individual not involved in the Protocol Collection Process, and then reviewed and compared with the tapes by Tasiguano. The Spanish tapes were transcribed by a secretary and then reviewed by Tasiguano to make sure that idiomatic campesino expressions were not excluded. This process involved several weeks and certain sections had to be reviewed over and over again. Taping quality was generally excellent. Difficulty arose in translating a few of the Quechua expressions into a Spanish form which did not distort their meaning. The coder took no part in this process, as it was felt that his knowledge of the code might influence the judgments.

When the protocols were ready to be coded, the author was given the protocols with all identifying tables removed to mask the group from which the protocols came. There were dramatic differences between the stories that appeared to coincide with two types of typewriters used to transcribe the protocols, one for the magical group and one for the naive group. Thus, the author did have a strong hunch about the group from which the protocol was taken. To be as objective

and reliable as possible, the author coded each protocol three times, at one week intervals, each time comparing the results to the first coding. In the second and third codings, there were never more than a total of eight discrepancies (codable sentence and coded level) between the two sets of 17 protocols. Thus, the author's coding consistency was extremely high, i.e., well above 95% agreement. However, it was not possible to obtain a second independent coding of these protocols due to the unique combination of expertise required in English, Spanish, Quechua, and the coding system. The coding manual is sufficiently detailed to make high coder reliability possible. Two coders in Massachusetts, working without benefit of the author's direct help, were able to obtain 88% agreement on a set of protocols in English. Thus, the questions that need to be weighed are: (1) did the guessed group identification significantly bias the author's coding?, and (2) did the author reliably follow the coding system he created? The author's belief is: (1) no, and (2) yes. The results reflect basic differences in the substance of the protocols. Further, the Spanish translations are available from the author to anyone who wishes to investigate this possible source of bias.

The Results

Coding Summary Charts

The results of the coding process are summarized in the coding manual. The symbol (A/1) represents individual A,

Story 1. The numbers located horizontally across from the symbol represent the number of responses at each level for that individual and that story. The symbol NC represents stories which did not have a marker sentence and were consequently considered as Non-Codable. The letters OD indicate stories in which the respondent Overtly Denied that a problem existed and the letter PA stories in which respondents avoided a problem statement. OD stories were given a numerical scoring value of three (3) which corresponds to the lowest reasonable score for a story: 1 point for each naming, reflecting, and acting statement; PA stories given a lower value of 2.

Appendix

These data for individuals were translated into conscientizacao scores using Method #2, i.e., for each individual, the percentage of that's persons responses at magical were multiplied by 1, the percentage at naive by 2, and the percentage at critical by 3. These three totals were summed into a C-score.

The fact of no overlap in scores between the two groups is extremely rare and highly statistically significant. Using a Mann Whitney U Test, the type "Z" score is 3.41, $p<.0005$. These results would occur by chance alone less than five times in 10,000. The coding system does discriminate between those two criterion groups.

It is possible to conduct the same analysis by deriving scores (using Method #2) for each of the three aspects, naming, reflecting, and acting. In other words, are the criterion groups significantly different in the ways they name, analyze, and describe action to solve problems? As with the initial overall C-scores, aspect scores for individuals were rank ordered and the differences between groups were assessed using a Mann Whitney U Test. This resulted in the following Z scores for naming, $Z = 2.93$, $p<.001$; for reflecting, $Z = 3.37$, $p<.0005$, and for acting, $Z = 3.41$, $p<.0005$. (See Appendix D for complete data.) Each of the three aspect scores differentiates between criterion groups almost as powerfully as the combined score. It is as if the combined score was the score for a three item questionnaire scale in which each of the three items alone was an accurate and powerful discriminator.

Another way of assessing these data is to check the degree to which the naive group is naive and the magical group magical, rather than the naive group simply scoring higher than the magical group. This can be assessed statistically by dividing the scores into three groups: 100-150, model response is magical; 151-250, model response is naive; 251-300, model response is critical. In other words, not only are two criterion groups different in levels of consciousness, but the behavioural criteria used to select the groups are signifi-

cantly associated with the specific predicted levels of consciousness.

Two caveats should be recognized in interpreting these results. First, it simply was not possible to determine the objective reliability of the coding, since we could find no one else who was fluent in English and Spanish and familiar with Quechua, who had sufficient expertise in psychological procedures to learn the coding system in English. However, the author is "the" expert in the coding system, having had major responsibility for its creation. Second, the coding system is sufficiently explicit to allow two English-speaking Americans to learn the coding system without the aid of the author and achieve 96% agreement on identification of codable sentences and 92% agreement in coding for levels for an overall agreement of 88%. In other words, the coding system is sufficiently objective. What is not known in this instance is whether the creator of the code used the system reliably and accurately.

The second caveat concerns the coder's knowledge of the groups from which the protocols were obtained. Care was taken to have others transcribe and translate the stories and to remove the names and group identification from the transcribed protocols. Thus, all possible steps were taken to hide the identity of the groups from the author. However, the differences between the groups were so striking that the author surmised quickly the respondent's group. This may have led to an overall hollow effect in the author's scoring.

While these two caveats may possibly vitiate the results, it is unlikely that these factors would counteract the extremely rare statistical differences found between the two groups. However, due also to the small sample size, the coding system should be seen as yielding highly encouraging results, but needing confirmation through replications and extended applications, and careful analysis of the instrument and code's internal properties.

C H A P T E R V

LIMITATIONS AND APPLICATION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two major parts. The first deals with the limitations of this study: all those factors which raise questions about the validity of the work described here. The second part deals with the applications of this study: how the results suggested here might be used to develop more effective consciousness-raising programs. The reader is requested to read this chapter carefully since the questions raised suggest weaknesses in this study, while at the same time outlining areas in which future study is appropriate.

Limitations of the Study

This section of Chapter V provides the reader with a series of issues not addressed in this document, yet issues which bear on the ultimate validity and reliability of the coding instrument described here. The reader should be conscious of these issues as limitations and maintain a skeptical attitude toward the coding system. The intention is that these limitations be perceived as questions requiring future investigation. The limitations have been divided into three areas: (1) limitations of the protocol collection process, (2) limita-

tions of the coding system, and (3) general questions raised about conscientizacao.

Limitations of the Protocol Collection Process

Because this study is basically deductive, reasoning from Freire's general theoretical framework toward specific manifestations (verbal behavior) of that framework, the nature of those "manifestations" is crucial. Consequently, it is important to point out several limitations of the process used to collect the verbal protocols upon which the development of the code relies.

These protocols were collected during the author's three years in Ecuador. During the collection of these protocols, the author had the opportunity to spend many days in rural communities talking with rural individuals about their lives and how they perceive their lives. Working with members of the Nonformal Education Project staff who spoke Quechua, and who were accepted by these communities as friends, many hours of conversations were recorded. These conversations were later translated into Spanish, transcribed, and used as one basis for the development of the coding system described in this document. However, because these ideas are highly cultural in nature, because they involved very threatening content, and because the very discussion of many of these issues is foreign to the respondents, the precautions taken may not have been sufficient.

Language translation. Many, but not all, of the conversations were in Quechua. Because Quechua is not a Western language, it is often difficult to translate many abstract concepts into Spanish. Because individuals were being asked to talk about themselves, often in very abstract ways, translation was complex; conceivably errors have been committed.

Cultural translation. Even more difficult was the task of translating cultural concepts. Because verbal expression was the foundation of the coding process, how an individual said something was important. When that expression was complicated through the screen of two cultures, possibilities for error exist. Take, for example, the word slavery. In Quechua, there is no such word; there is, rather, a long explanation related to a series of specific events. "Slavery is when. . . ." For readers more familiar with the Spanish-English cultural interface, another example might be clearer. What is the word in English for patron? It is more than a language translation problem, it is a problem related to cultural understanding. You cannot understand what patron means in Latin America unless you know what paternalism means in Latin America, and how it works. This difficulty of cross-cultural understanding may have also affected some of the interpretations given the protocols.

Technology. Where tape recorders were used, it was

unclear exactly what effect the tape recorder had upon a rural Ecuadorian respondent. Many of them had never seen a tape recorder before, which may have been an advantage in reducing their fear of being "exposed" to authorities at some later date. While it is not clear that all respondents understood the tape recorder's long-range potential or implications, i.e., that words were "captured" and could be played for individuals not present when they spoke, a few respondents did understand that their words could be used against them. This is threatening and could have caused them to say things they felt were "safe" to say. Consequently, we are not sure about the degree to which the responses were affected by the utilization of a foreign technological innovation.

Interview format. Freire says that "naming" is a powerful force in the development of "C." The protocol collection instrument, because it poses the question "why," has, in itself, a "naming" function. At the lower levels of "C," individuals do not ask why. The absence of causal reasoning is highly associated with magical thinking. The question "why" creates a dissonance between magical understanding, which doesn't perceive causality, and the world represented by the question "why?" The effect of this dissonance is not clear, but it may have contributed to producing naive appearing responses.

Interviewer-interviewee relationship. Magical indivi-

duals are unaccustomed to being questioned, even in an open-minded conversation. The fact that the interview is composed of a series of questions posed over and over again may have affected the honesty of the respondents' answers. Secondly, the fact that the interviewers were not members of the interviewees' communities and obviously held a superior-role status, even though they spoke Quechua and in fact were indians, may also have affected the respondents' answers. Finally, the effect of the interviewers' friendship with the naive group and lack of prior relationship with the magical group constitutes a significant difference in interview process which also could have influenced responses. This is particularly possible because the naive group's protocols were much longer than the magical group's protocols.

Visual literacy. The protocol collection instrument relies on a series of drawings. These drawings were pilot-tested before being used and there is substantial evidence that they represent easily recognizable objects and individuals from the respondent's environment. However, it should be pointed out that oppression carries with it a number of side effects, one being visual illiteracy. In one extreme case, a respondent, when asked what he saw in a picture of three adults, answered, "three flowers." On this basis, his responses were disqualified, and did not enter into the coding results. Responses could be affected by more subtle and even more powerful visual factors. Size of figures in a three-dimensional drawing

could affect how a respondent perceives power, for example, the larger figure being perceived as more powerful. Perspectives and distance could also function to alter power and status perceptions, particularly for respondents unaccustomed to two-dimensional representations.

Significance. What we do not know at this point is how significantly these factors affect the perceptions of the magical and naive criterion groups. Each constitute an area for future investigation. We have no reliable information that they caused significant distortion, but we are led by logic to accept them on areas in which distortion could have resulted. These factors would argue for careful development of the visual stimuli, particularly in a new cultural setting where totally different visuals would have to be developed.

Limitations of the Coding System

There are a number of factors related to the coding instrument's validity which have not been adequately established in this study and which must be established before an individual can be certain that the instrument is a reliable, valid measure of conscientizacao. These factors have been divided by the author into two categories: those related to external validity and those related to internal validity.

Reliability

This refers to those factors which would tend to alter a coding score but which are not related to any change in the

respondent's level of consciousness. These factors would necessarily constitute a scoring distortion and provide the coder with an accurate picture of the respondent's level of conscientizacao.

Coder reliability. Are scores the same when a given protocol is coded by more than one coder? If different coders produce significantly different coding scores for the same protocol, then the coding process is unreliable. Significantly, different coding results between two different coders may indicate that too many of the coding categories depend upon individual interpretation rather than objective coding definitions. In order to establish coder reliability, a larger number and a broader range of coders must be selected and trained in using the code. They must then be given identical protocols to code, and their coding results compared. If areas of significant discrepancy result, those areas must be reviewed and more precise coding definitions generated, until a minimum of 80% coder reliability is established.

We have some evidence that the coding system is sufficiently objective. Two coders in the United States used the manual to learn the coding system. They did not have access to the "expert" consultation of the author. However, using ten protocols collected in the U.S. using different visuals, they were able to achieve .92% agreement on the sentence in the protocol to be scored and .95% agreement on the levels assigned to the codable sentences for an overall agreement of

.87%. These data bode well for the adequacy of the training manual for learning the scoring system.

Coder reliability may also be affected by a series of other influences. Take, for example, a coder who had strong personal biases concerning the concept "oppression." It is possible that these biases could affect the coding judgments and alter the scoring decisions. For this reason, it is important to establish coder reliability using coders who have demonstrated a wide variety of political persuasions. This coding instrument is particularly susceptible to bias-distortion because of the highly political nature of the vocabulary. This factor has not as yet been taken into account in establishing coder reliability.

A coder's personal knowledge of a given respondent is also a possible cause for scoring distortion. The coder in this instance was not aware of which respondent was being coded; however, he did know which criterion group (magical or naive) was being coded. The perceptual set associated with a thorough understanding of the coding categories can influence certain coding decisions. For example, when coding the magical group, the coder was more sensitive to "problem denial" than when coding the naive groups. Whenever possible, a coder should not be asked to score a protocol of an individual whom they know personally, or to insure that, during coding, the coder does not know to whom the protocol belongs. In some cases, this may be impossible, however, and the effects of per-

ceptual sets should be studied to determine how seriously they affect coder reliability.

A third possible cause of coder unreliability refers to the effect of multiple coding on a given coder. Take, for example, the situation in which a coder is given a set of twenty protocols to code. Are the last five coding judgments affected by the nature of the first fifteen protocols? Is a coder affected by the impact of coding fifteen naive level protocols and then given a critical level protocol to code? Does the order in which a coder receives a variety of protocols affect the coding results? Are critical level judgments more affected by prior naive responses or vice versa? Is the scoring of the first protocols affected by the lack of experience of the coder; that is, would coders code the first protocol in a set of fifteen protocols the same way after coding the entire fifteen as they did before coding the fifteen? Does the coder's level of consciousness affect the coding results? Can a magical or naive level individual be trained to code critical responses accurately? In this study, for example, the coder was not a critical level individual. The naive criterion group was coded prior to the magical criterion group. Consequently, the coder was sensitive to the dramatically shorter protocols which the magical group produced. This coder was experienced and probably not affected by lack of coding experience. The significance of these factors remains to be explored in relation to this coding instrument and constitute limitations to the existing code's reliability.

Stability over time. If conscientizacao is a valid developmental concept, it must be stable over time. Developmental stages are not transitory states through which an individual passes rapidly, but irreversible, major conceptual frameworks within which individuals perceive the world. If the coding system tends to produce results which are susceptible to changes up and down over short periods of time, it is likely that it is not reflecting structural developmental stages, but rather "stages" in some different sense. It is not clear, at this point, whether these coding results are stable over time, and increased attention should be given to this question.

Situational stability. Are the coding results for the same respondent stable when the protocol is collected in different physical and emotional environments or when different visuals are used? For example, if respondents are given the same protocol collection instrument first in their home and then in a school room, does the situation alter the coding results? Is the environment in which the respondent is given the collection instrument important in affecting their responses? One can imagine that a school could carry with it a series of perceptual biases: the collection instrument might appear to be a "test" in a school room and simply a "conversation" in a home situation. This study used two different environments but ones which were felt to have the same basic characteristics for the magical and naive criterion group respondents.

The presence or absence of certain key individuals might also affect the results of the collection instrument. If, for example, the patron were present while campesinos were responding to the collection instrument, their answers might be significantly different than if they were alone with the interviewer. The physical and social characteristics of the interviewer may also significantly affect the responses to the collection instrument. It seems almost certain that these variables would affect coding responses in some way; what is not clear as yet is how significantly they might affect reliability.

Another meaning of situation stability refers to the reliability of predicting C-level in different real-life situations. A given individual may be in several oppressive situations; family relationships may constitute one oppressive environment, while work relationships another. In the home, the individual may score near the critical level, while at work scoring at the naive level. While developing the coding system, a series of protocols were collected from non-indian respondents who were coded at critical level when talking about indian problems. When talking about their own work situation, they scored first-level naive. This experience raises questions about Kohlberg's characteristics being applied to this system. If the measure is totally situational, dependent on the particular oppressive context, it would not meet Kohlberg's "consistent whole" criteria.

Internal Consistency

If the stages of C are coherent, integrated world views, this should be reflected in two types of empirical qualities of the coding system: (1) a high correlation between C-scores derived from responses to separate visuals; and (2) a high intercorrelation between C-scores for the naming, reflecting, and acting aspects of the C-score. The first assesses consistency of C-level across visualized situations. The second assesses the degree to which the three aspects of the levels are consistent in reflecting the same basic stage or world view.

A split half correlation is the usual way of assessing the first type of internal consistency. Using the 17 protocols, we obtained a C-score, using scoring Method #2, based on the first and third visuals and correlated that score with the C-score based on the second and fourth visuals. The Pearson V is .760, indicating quite high consistency of scores across different visual situations.

The second type of internal consistency is reflected in the intercorrelations between the three aspects in Table 1. These data strongly suggest that responses within each of the three aspects of conscientizacao are highly related to the type of responses within the other aspects. The stages appear to be relatively coherent, integrated perspectives, or world views. Although the sample size is quite small, these initial data are very encouraging in suggesting adequate internal consistency.

TABLE 1

Intercorrelations of C-Scores for the Three Aspects of Conscientizacao for Criterion Group Protocols

ASPECTS	NAMING	REFLECTING	ACTING
Naming	--	--	--
Reflecting	.838	--	--
Acting	.746	.781	--

External Validity

External Validity refers to the correlation between the coding results and other measures of consciousness. Basically, we are concerned here with the code's ability to coincide with other related measures and with the real-life behaviors of individuals. It is not very important if the code is internally reliable if it does not accurately predict real-life behavior. Its value as a diagnostic and evaluative instrument is non-existent if it does not relate to real-life activity. Effort was given in this study to establishing validity. At least four types of factors need to be explored before we can be certain that this coding system measures what it pretends to measure.

Concurrent validity. There exist a number of other social science measures which are related in a variety of ways to conscientizacao. In a book by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba entitled, The Civic Culture, the authors examine the results of testing over 1000 persons in each of five countries (Mexico, United States of America, Italy, Germany and Great Britain). They divide respondents into three general classes, the "parochial," the "subject," and the "participant." Each of these terms describes how the respondents see their relationship with the power structure, or with the "system," although Almond and Verba don't use that term. The principal scale used by Verba and Almond to assess the activists' attitudes was the Guttman Scale called the "Subjective Political

Competence Scale." Similar measures have been developed by political scientists David Easton and Robert Hess (1960) in their studies of political socialization of American school children. Their scale is called "Political Efficacy." These and other similar efforts should be compared with the results of the code developed here. Such comparisons could help show the extent to which this measure correlates with other measures which would help determine its validity.

Generalizability. This is concerned with the code's ability to function with both inter- and intra-cultural differences. It is important to know if this measure is culture-specific or if it can be used successfully in a variety of cultural settings. Most of the specific coding categories are the results of work done in a single culture and with a specific subculture. Are the coding categories only valid within that culture? Is "Playing Host to the Oppressor," for example, a uniquely Latin American quality? This question is even more important because the bulk of Freire's theoretical work, upon which the specific categories are based, was also done in a Latin American setting. But this specific coding process would have to be tested in different cultural settings before we could be sure that the code's reliability was not dependent upon a specific cultural setting. Given Freire's claims for relatively extensive validity across cultures, this aspect needs to be assessed.

Real-life predictability. This code is a measure of verbal behavior; a measure of what individuals say. An important question yet to be answered is the relationship between what they say they think and the way in which they actually behave. Do individuals who have been coded as first-level naive really try to model the oppressor in their everyday life, or do they try to change norms, policies, procedures? There is always a tenuous relationship between what individuals really believe, what they say they believe, and what they do. This limitation is given when relying on any verbal coding system. The crucial point to discover here is if the relationship is unreliable in this coding process, exaggerated to such a stage that there is no reasonable relationship between expressed thought and action. Some work was done in this study on establishing a relationship between real-life and verbal responses. The correlation between the behavior of the a priori magical and naive level groups and the coding scores was significantly positive.

A second study using the coding system has been conducted in Massachusetts assessing the effects of women's consciousness-raising groups on levels of consciousness. (Bailey) In comparing twenty women about to enter C-R groups with twenty women matched on relevant background variables who had been in a C-R group for a year or more, Bailey found that differences in the ways the two groups named the problems were particularly pronounced ($B = 2.80$, $p < .003$). Additional vali-

dation studies of this type need to be conducted to determine the extent of the coding system's applicability and validity.

General Questions Concerning Conscientizacao

As a result of the development of this coding process, several basic questions suggest themselves. These questions are related to the assumption that this coding system reflects a major new developmental theory, a theory which defines a conceptually systematic educational ideology.

Stage Fluidity

How fluid are the stage definitions provided in this coding system? It is almost certain from the present work that they are not entirely inflexible; that is, that a single individual can demonstrate behaviors in more than one stage at a given time. The question is, to what degree is this fluidity tolerable before we have to say that the categories do not represent true stages, but rather a conglomerate of variables organized in a conceptually consistent manner, but one which does not predict behavior across situations?

Stage Sequence

Kohlberg and Mayer in their article entitled, "Development as the Aim of Education," state:

> Instead they [the progressives] define development as a progression through invariant ordered sequential stages. p. 454

If conscientizacao is a new developmental concept, then it must

demonstrate that the stages it defines constitute an "invariant ordered sequence." This means simply that all individuals must move through the same sequence; that movement is from magical to naive to critical. Every individual need not achieve critical consciousness, but it is unacceptable for an individual to move directly from magical to critical. The question of stage sequence raises another interesting point. Is it necessary for every individual to begin at the same point? In the case study of Malcolm X, it was suggested that he was born into a naive conceptual environment and had no demonstrable personal experience with magical consciousness. It might be argued that certain maturational stages such as those defined by Piaget or Maslow would substitute for magical consciousness in Malcolm X's earliest childhood experiences. These experiences might not appear in his autobiography. This provides an interesting question for further exploration.

Sub-stages

What is the relationship of substages such as Fanaticized Consciousness and "Playing Host to the Oppressor" to the three principal stages of consciousness? Are they really new stages? Are they, as Freire says, "distortions?" What role does the distortion play in overall development? Are there other substages that can be identified? Freire has discussed a post naive stage in which an individual perceives what critical consciousness means and "cops-out" or reverts back to naive or fanatical consciousness in order to avoid the consequences

of critical consciousness. Is such a "cop-out" a legitimate stage or substage, or is it a simple regression? These questions deserve more attention than they have been given in this document and pose interesting areas for new experimentation.

Applicability of the Coding System

Six problems related to the field of consciousness-raising are outlined below. This coding instrument offers the individual interested in consciousness-raising a new tool for addressing each of those problems. The coding instrument does not, in itself, solve these problems, but rather provides a new way of seeking appropriate answers. This part of Chapter V will attempt to suggest ways in which this instrument might be used to address each of those six problems.

Problem 1: The Nature of the Problem

How can we establish more precise and more effective consciousness-raising goals? As long as goal-setting relies on the instinctive feelings of trainers and workshop organizers, how can we be sure that these goals are related in a meaningful way to increased critical consciousness? This coding instrument offers a way in which the results of consciousness-raising seminars and workshops can be understood. Indeed, this instrument opens a series of new perspectives on how those workshops might be organized. First, the code suggests that a diagnostic evaluation of participants is important before training

goals are established. Is it, for example, appropriate to set critical goals for magical individuals? Should not the training goals be designed in relationship to the consciousness levels of participants? Secondly, this instrument will allow us to measure changes in consciousness and thus allow us to validate training goals against long-range changes in behavior. Thirdly, the instrument and our present understanding of it lead us to question whether the changes in consciousness take place over short periods of time and due to training-style inputs. If magical, naive and critical levels of consciousness are truly developmental stages, we are led to believe that changes from one consciousness level to another are extremely difficult and require long-range intervention. Perhaps training goals should be focused on changes within a given level, rather than changes between levels. By indicating what kinds of changes do take place, this instrument can help us address these questions more effectively.

Problem 2: Setting Objectives

The appropriateness of training activities in relation to goals is also a crucial question which the coding instrument can help us address. Kohlberg suggests that there may be "critical" periods in an individual's stage development which are more appropriate than others for change between stages to take place. The suggestion is that individuals who have just moved into a new stage need time to internalize that stage before moving on to a higher level stage. It seems equally

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plausible that individuals who spend too much time in a given developmental stage create defenses against stage growth. If this is so, it would be important to identify individuals for training at an optimum moment of their stage development. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, pp. 489-90) This instrument would help make those diagnostic decisions.

Training activities like training goals should be appropriate to the stage in which the trainees are and be neither too challenging nor too retarding. Kohlberg and Mayer say:

> As applied to educational intervention, the theory holds that facilitation of the child's movement to the next step of development involves exposure to the next higher level of thought and conflict requiring the active application of the current level of thought to problematic situations. This implies: (1) attention to the child's mode of styles of thought, i.e., stage; (2) match of stimulation to that stage, e.g., exposure to modes of reasoning one stage above the child's own; (3) arousal, among children, of genuine cognitive and social conflict and disagreement about problematic situations [in contrast to traditional education which has stressed adult 'right answers' and has reinforced 'behaving well']; and (4) exposure to stimuli toward which the child can be active, in which assimilatory response to the stimulus-situation is associated with 'natural' feedback. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 459)

If this holds true for adult consciousness-raising as well as for the developmental stages which Kohlberg/Mayer are discussing, it would seem essential to understand within what level an individual is presently functioning, and establish training experiences which require conflict in the application of that current level of thought. Kohlberg/Mayer also quote Dewey as saying:

> Some experiences are miseducative. Any experience is miseducative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experience. . . . (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, pp. 25-28)

If experience can be miseducative, then it is possible that unconsciously some training experiences presently being offered as developmental are, in fact, retarding, or distorting consciousness growth. This presents a serious challenge to the trainer, a challenge which this instrument can help to meet by providing the trainer with information about the participants, both before and after the training experience.

Problem 3: Durability of Learning

The question of durability is absolutely crucial to understanding whether consciousness-raising is a superficial change in behavior or a significant long-term change in an individual's world view. Kohlberg/Mayer state:

> Psychologically, the distinction between humanitarian and developmental criteria is the distinction between the short-term value of the child's immediate experience and the long-term value of that experience as it relates to development. . . . The progressive [developmental] approach maintains that the worth of an educational effect is decided by its effect upon later behavior and development. Thus, in the progressive view, the basic problems of choosing and validating educational ends can only be solved by longitudinal studies of the effects of educational experience. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, pp. 462-63)

If "C" is a truly developmental concept, and if Kohlberg/Mayer are right, long-term studies of behavioral change are necessary before we can be sure that the short-term achievements of training programs are having truly developmental effects. This coding system gives us one way of designing, implementing and eval-

uating such longitudinal studies.

Problem 4: Training Trainers

The problem of trainer preparation rests upon an understanding of the training results, and upon a systematic and coherent training rationale which can be transmitted to new trainers. We have seen the difficulty of simply training trainers in the use of specific training exercises. New trainers require a framework within which they can understand the impact of exercises. They need to know why an exercise is used as much as they need to know how it is used. They also need to know how to evaluate the results of their inputs on a more objective basis than simply participant-satisfaction. This coding instrument provides a coherent conceptual framework against which specific training exercises can be planned and evaluated. It provides a new trainer with a conceptual whole, with an explanation of the consciousness-raising process. Such a fundamental understanding offers the trainer creative possibilities for developing new training experiences as well as simply "performing" a set of learned training skills.

Problem 5: Evaluation

Evaluation is related to each of the other five problems. It is mentioned here separately to emphasize its importance. The coding system is basically an evaluation process which can be applied to assess a variety of concerns; e.g., what factors most effectively facilitate individual changes from one level

of consciousness to another, what factors stimulate growth and what factors retard growth. Once these factors have been isolated and verified, it may be possible to develop other measures with broader implication. If, for example, we can show conclusively that a certain behavior frequently retards consciousness growth, that it works to maintain oppression rather than promoting liberation, we can then, in some objective sense, identify oppressive regimes. It would be more difficult for such regimes to defend educational policies which promote oppression, without overtly identifying themselves as oppressive. Much work has to be done before such a measure could be developed, but the coding process offers us such an opportunity if it proves to be a reliable measure of consciousness-growth.

Problem 6: Relating Personal Growth and Political Consciousness

We can only answer this question if we have some measure of personal growth and then if we can compare changes in personal growth with changes in the political-social context. A number of interesting possibilities present themselves. It has often been said by observers of the Chilean social revolutions which brought Salvador Allende into power that such a bloodless political revolution was due to the high level of consciousness among the bulk of Chileans. Is that statement justified by the facts? How could we retroactively attempt to measure the level of consciousness in the Chilean population?

Newspaper editorials, school texts, popular novels, and/or television and radio scripts, other social science questionnaires, and political cartoons are examples of information which might be analyzed retrospectively. What does this information show about the level of consciousness? If it indicates a relatively high level of consciousness, how far back would we have to go before similar materials began to demonstrate a lower level of consciousness? What political events could be associated with the change in consciousness if it appeared? How could such a change be explained? If consciousness-raising is, as Freire suggests, an interaction between the external environment and the internal perception of individuals and groups, how could this interaction be traced? Is there a predictable time-lag between consciousness changes and political changes? A whole series of fascinating questions are forth coming from such speculation. This coding instrument can help begin such an investigative process, during the course of which the instrument itself would be enriched, made more precise and reliable.

A final word of caution is appropriate here. Before such wideranging social investigation is begun, the instrument itself requires increased validation. The scope of this dissertation has been relatively small. The purpose has been to initiate a process, to develop an instrument which is precise enough to warrant further validation; an instrument sufficiently validated to suggest that future investment in understanding the

problem of oppression and in having a behavioral instrument (even one which relies primarily on verbal behavior) is justified. But that task is not sufficient to justify, now, wide-ranging social research into politically sensitive and emotionally packed areas. Because this one area is sensitive, one's care must be taken in how this instrument is used. It should be a tool of creating more liberating educational programs rather than a tool of creating more oppressive educational programs. It holds, unfortunately, potential for both.

Summary

The coding system described in this document has a number of limitations. While care was taken to minimize the impact of such factors as translation, cultural misinterpretation, the novelty of tape recorder technology, and the interview relationship, these factors merit further exploration before we can be certain how seriously they may have affected the protocol data. Similarly, a number of internal validity factors require further experimentation. Coder reliability should be established using a broader range, and larger number, of coders. Stability of the coding measure over time, in different situations and using alternative visuals, should be challenged by further experimentation. The coding measure should be compared with other similar measures in political science and developmental education, and its generalizability should be measured with increased care. While work has begun on establishing the code's ability to predict real-life beha-

vior, much more work needs to be done before we can be certain of its validity.

In addition to these limitations, several general questions concerning conscientizacao resulted from the development of this coding process. How fluid are the stages described in the code? Can individuals demonstrate behavior across all three stages simultaneously? Are the stages sequential? At what developmental point does conscientizacao become a viable concern? What is the relationship of substages to the overall conceptual framework? Do they constitute transition stages, or can they be considered to be complete stages in themselves? What factors promote growth from one stage to another? What factors hinder or retard growth? Is there an optimal moment at which a given individual is "ready" for stage transition? If so, how could such a moment be predicted and perceived? Each of these questions constitutes a major area of study which should logically succeed the establishment of greater coding reliability and validity.

The coding instrument has been shown as a potentially powerful tool for addressing the six problems previously. These problems, related to the greater understanding and control over consciousness-raising programs, constitute challenges for all individuals concerned with the problem of humanization and its antithesis, oppression. While the code requires greater validation, we are led to believe that despite these limitations, future investigation is warranted on the basis of existing results.

The pedagogical implications of this coding system lend support to educational programs which focus on transforming systems, rather than reforming individuals. The coding system clearly implies that collaborative educational pursuits are liberating, while non-collaborative ones are less effective in achieving transforming goals. This places emphasis on group rather than individual educational processes. The coding system also suggests that education is not something that is done to someone else, but rather a being with and growing with others. The full implication of this is not clear, but it raises questions about the effectiveness of short-term relationships such as seminars, workshops, laboratories, in positively affecting consciousness-raising.

Out-of-school educational programs seem to be one area in which these ideas may be most immediately applicable. Programs such as drug education, social work, adult literacy, and community development, as well as overt consciousness-raising programs offer fertile ground for experimenting with these ideas. Because these programs are largely concerned with real-life problems, the potential impact of transforming goals as opposed to reforming goals appears to be greater.

Reference has already been made to the possible dangers of, on the one hand, using the coding system carelessly, and on the other hand, using it unethically. Carelessness can result in sweeping generalizations, pigeon-holing, and in alienating individuals and groups who quite rightly resent being

"labeled." Unethical utilization of this system could result in the strengthening of already oppressive regimes and environments. Ultimately, the author can only point out these dangers and hope that the reader will be ethically sensitive to their importance.

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